



JULY 1970

The Quarterly Journal

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



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COVER: Watercolors by the Nigerian artist D. L. K. Nnachy depicting Ibo ceremonies and games in the Ohafia District. The upper front depicts Ite-Odo, a secret society, whose members have demonstrated their bravery by killing someone from another town or by killing a leopard; below is Iri Agha, a war dance; and on the back cover, Ekpe Omume and Ekpe Okonko illustrate festivals celebrating the planting and harvesting of yams. See also the editor's note. The Nnachy watercolors here and on pages 183 and 184 are reproduced by courtesy of the Harmon Foundation.

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Editor's Note

One of the purposes of the *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* is to call its readers' attention to unusual items in the collections. First to enjoy that pleasure of discovery, however, are the members of the *QJ* staff, when a specialist in the Manuscript, or Prints and Photographs, or Rare Book, or some other division calls to say "We have something here"

This special issue on Africana in the Library's collections has been full of such happy experiences. One of the most unexpected was the introduction to D. L. K. Nnachy, whose watercolors are reproduced on the cover and on the next two pages. Nnachy, a Nigerian artist, was born around 1910 and taught in the Ohafia District Mission Schools before retiring to his small farm. He studied art in the late twenties and early thirties as a pupil of Kenneth C. Murray, British Education Officer. The sketches shown here were for a proposed book centering on Ohafia ceremonies and games that was never published. They are now in the Manuscript Division, part of the Harmon Foundation collection, which was given to the Library in 1967.

Nnachy's work has been described as simple and sincere, terms that his letters indicate might well be applied to the artist as well. He expresses a modest wish that his works be seen and put to good use, a wish that encouraged the *QJ* staff in the choice of the cover design. Books were always acceptable to him, and his library was subjected to unusual vicissitudes. One letter he wrote to the Harmon Foundation closes with this paragraph:

I am so sorry to relate to you an incident which happened to me a month and a half ago; my library

was badly eaten up by white ants and those good art books you have sent to me in years past were also among the destroyed ones.

The papers in the Manuscript Division indicate, however, that the Harmon Foundation moved in to repair the ravages of the "bug invasion" with replacements.

The *Quarterly Journal* joins in saluting the African Section of the General Reference and Bibliography Division of the Reference Department on its 10th anniversary. The birthday was formally recognized on March 25, 1970. L. Gray Cowan, Director of the Institute of African Studies at Columbia University, whose address on that occasion appears in this issue, paid tribute to the "remarkable bibliographic and reference work on the African continent" which the section has done in its first decade. He spoke for many specialists in African studies when he said:

The African Section has long had a close relationship with the African Studies Association, of which I am currently president. We count as a major accomplishment that one of our committees, shortly after the founding of the association, was instrumental in urging upon the Carnegie Corporation the necessity of establishing an African section within the Library. Successive directors of the section have served on the association's Libraries Committee and on its board, thus linking the scholarly interest of the association's members with the work of the Library of Congress. I am certain that I speak for the entire academic community concerned with Africa when I congratulate the director and staff of the African Section on its 10th year of service and wish for it many more years of continued success.



In connection with his article on early Africana in the Rare Book Division, Frederick R. Goff tells us that the Library's Hebraic Section has an imperfect copy of what is believed to be the first book printed in Africa. It is David ben Joseph Abudarham's commentary on the Jewish liturgy and calendar, *Perush haberakhot v'ha-tefilot*. It was published in the city of Fez, almost certainly in 1516, although 1521 has also been suggested as the date.

There is a belief that human beings should not tempt the gods by producing a perfect work. And some deliberately make a slight error to let the evil spirits out. The editors of the *Quarterly Journal* wish its readers to be aware that there are no evil spirits in the April 1970 issue because they were given several exits. In Richard Eberhart's poem, "Marrakech," on page 157, a period has been inserted in the penultimate line. The last two lines should read:

And all are made whole again under the red sky
And all is made whole in the heart and time.

James Dickey's poem, "The Sheep Child," also suffers from a reprinting error. The fifth line from the end of the poem, on page 166, should read:

And from the chaste ewe in the wind.

In the Library of Congress Publications Office we still spell *the* with an "e." SLW

Left, Okere-Nkwa, a dance featuring ceremonial drums in honor of a brave man who has died. Next page, Inu Agu, a ceremony celebrating the killing of a leopard.

AFRICANA IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN SECTION

by Julian W. Witherell

The emergence of the entire African continent on the international scene over the past 10 years has been expressed in a striking increase in writing on African affairs. This growth is reflected in the collections of the Library of Congress and in the development of specialized units within the Library to handle Africana—material issued in Africa or relating to Africa. To meet the needs of Congress, Government agencies, universities, and the general public, the Library has expanded its services in the acquisition of Africana of value to scholarship and the preparation of bibliographic guides to this material. It offers the researcher unusually rich and extensive holdings of Africana and detailed reference service in many fields of study.¹

For Africa south of the Sahara, the focal point of the Library's reference and bibliographic service is the African Section, celebrating its 10th anniversary this year. In 1960, a pivotal year in sub-Saharan Africa as 17 nations gained independence, the Library recognized the need for a specialized reference unit for this area by establishing the African Section in the Reference Department's General Reference and Bibliography Division. Supported initially by a generous grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and later by funds appropriated by Congress, it advises and cooperates in the Library's acquisition program, provides reference and bibliographic services, and maintains liaison with other institutions in the United States and abroad concerned with African studies. Under the direction of Dr. Conrad C. Reining, who served as head from 1960 to 1966, the section developed strong acquisition and bibliographic programs. The size of its professional staff more than doubled during his tenure, from two in 1960 to its present total of five. In 1965, to meet the need for specialized reference service, each staff member was given responsibility for a particular region and for material in certain European and African languages. The present professional staff has competence in Swahili, Arabic, Hausa, and Amharic as well as in all major Western languages.

The staff works closely with the Library's Processing Department in the acquisition of books and periodicals by recommending titles for purchase or for procurement by exchange or gift. Through a review of catalogs, accessions lists, bibliographies, and other sources of identification,

it recommends approximately 2,000 titles a year. Materials available only by purchase—primarily newspapers, commercial periodicals, and a few official publications—are requested through the Order Division. Additional works are regularly acquired both in Africa and Europe through the Special Foreign Currency Program (authorized by Public Law 83-480, as amended) and the National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging.² In many African countries lacking established booksellers, American embassies and consulates are authorized to obtain local publications. Approximately 19,000 items, counting individual issues of serials, were purchased in Africa south of the Sahara in fiscal 1969. Most American books and periodicals on Africa and many from European publishers are received on copyright.

For publications of government agencies, universities, and most research institutes in sub-Saharan Africa, the Library relies heavily on the programs of its Exchange and Gift Division. As many emerging African nations, especially the French-speaking states, have virtually no commercial publishing, exchanges are the Library's primary source of local publications. Exchanges with Africa since 1962 have been the responsibility of the division's African and Asian Exchange Section (formerly called the Orientalia Exchange Section). In the past seven years, it has greatly expanded its contacts with Africa by offering U.S. Government publications and books surplus to the Library's needs in exchange for material issued by the growing number of African research centers and government agencies. In fiscal 1969, it acquired approximately 27,000 items from sub-Saharan Africa and had in force more than 2,000 exchange agreements with issuing bodies in 44 nations and dependencies in the region. Many other exchanges are maintained by the division with organizations in Europe, Asia, and the Americas concerned with African studies.

A major problem in collecting Africana is the maintenance of effective exchange contacts in Africa in the face of recurrent changes in governments and shifts of personnel within various re-

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search institutions. This situation is aggravated by the absence of a well-organized book trade in the majority of African states and by inadequate systems for the distribution of official publications. As one approach to the problem, members of the African Section's professional staff have used funds from the Carnegie grant to support survey trips to African capitals and other publishing centers. Their basic purpose has been to gain a firsthand view of the current publishing situation in each country, to find new sources of Africana, and to report their findings to the Library and other African studies centers in the United States.

Dr. Reining began the surveys in 1961 with a trip to major publishing centers in West and South Africa, and he surveyed Central and East Africa the following year. In subsequent trips staff members of the African Section have concentrated their attention on the smaller African states not covered by Dr. Reining or on countries in which the publishing situation had changed markedly since his visits. To date, seven trips have been made to 40 nations and dependencies, and major publishing centers such as Dakar, Accra, Lagos, and Nairobi have been covered several times. On each trip the staff member visits government agencies, libraries, research centers, and commercial publishers in order to acquire available material and to determine the best means of obtaining their publications on a regular basis either by purchase, exchange, or gift. Wherever possible, an attempt is made to find a local bookseller to serve American libraries as a "blanket order" dealer. Several of the trips have included brief visits to African studies centers in France, Belgium, and Portugal. In both Africa and Europe officials of American embassies or consulates have given invaluable assistance by making appointments, providing transportation, and arranging for material to be sent to the Library.

The surveys have improved the flow of Africana to the Library and have pointed out the value of periodic on-the-spot contacts in identifying sources of material and in establishing or renewing exchange arrangements. Government officials, librarians, archivists, and publishers in both Africa and Europe have responded enthusiastically to the Library's requests for their publications. With few exceptions, they have indicated an awareness of the Library of Congress as

a pre-eminent research center and have expressed pleasure that it was sufficiently interested in their work to send a representative to them. The trips have also given staff members an opportunity to describe the Africana holdings of the Library and the role of the African Section on local radio and television programs and in press interviews and to discuss the Library's programs with faculty and students of several library schools. Detailed reports on each trip, issued in limited quantities (50 or 100 copies), have been distributed within the Library and to African studies specialists in major American research libraries.³

A further step in improving the Library's collections of Africana was taken in 1966 with the establishment of a Library of Congress regional center in Nairobi, Kenya, under the National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging, with responsibility for acquiring current publications in eastern Africa. The author accompanied Edmond Applebaum and Jerry James of the Library's Processing Department on a survey trip in 1966 to Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia to determine the feasibility of a regional acquisitions program and to establish contacts with publishers and booksellers in this region. In the past three years, the African Section has maintained close contact with Mr. James, the first director of the center, and his successor, Alvin Moore, by providing them with information on the current status of the Library's holdings on eastern Africa and suggesting new sources of publications.

Most material on sub-Saharan Africa acquired by the Library is dispersed by subject in the general collections, and the development and bibliographic control of these holdings is a primary concern of the African Section. A review of any part of the general collections indicates the rapid growth of Africana since World War II and especially in the past 10 years. The largest single block of material is the collection of surveys, year-books, histories, and general descriptive works (the DT classification). In the shelflist this is represented by about 21,000 titles, compared to approximately 13,000 titles in 1960. Collections in other fields, covering the entire spectrum of African studies, from anthropology to zoology, have also expanded rapidly in the past decade. The shelflist indicates, for example, that holdings in African languages and linguistics have increased from 600 to 1,400 titles and the number

of bibliographic guides now totals more than 400, compared to about 175 a decade ago.

Retrospectively, the Library's strongest collections are in the fields of description and travel, including numerous reports of travelers, explorers, and missionaries from the 19th and early 20th centuries. Before World War II, holdings in general were limited to this descriptive material, along with the few available scholarly works and a number of major periodicals and government documents. There were substantial collections on Liberia, a reflection of special American interest there, and on South Africa and the Belgian Congo. For other areas south of the Sahara, holdings consisted primarily of basic government documents, such as gazettes and blue books of British colonies and *journaux officiels* of French possessions. Among the Library's holdings today are about 5,000 bound volumes of legislative records of African governments. Examples are its files of the *Official Gazette* of the Cape of Good Hope from 1843 to date, the *Bulletin Officiel* of the Belgian Congo (former Congo Free State) from 1885 to 1959, the *Journal Officiel* of the Malagasy Republic (former Madagascar) from 1896 to date, and the *Minutes of Proceedings* and *Debates* of the legislature of Rhodesia (former Southern Rhodesia) from 1899 to date.

Serial publications are a vital part of the Library's holdings of Africana for contemporary as well as for historical studies. A major portion of the material published in Africa today is issued in serial form, including government reports, studies of research institutes, commercial journals, and newspapers. This is augmented by the growing number of American, European, and Asian periodicals devoted to African affairs and by general political and economic reviews which carry frequent articles on Africa. A recent bibliographic survey by the African Section indicates that the Library regularly receives about 1,200 Africana serials, not including newspapers or annual departmental reports of African governments. Newspapers are another vital component of research on many African problems as the local press of a country frequently provides the details of political events or the editorial commentary needed to augment material found in monographs and periodicals. The Library's Serial Division currently receives about 50 daily and 30

weekly, biweekly, and monthly newspapers from Africa.⁴

Two examples may illustrate the breadth and diversity of the Library's serial collections. In the field of political science there are the journals issued by nationalist organizations of southern Africa, operating in exile in Cairo, Dar es Salaam, Kinshasa, and Lusaka. Together with the large number of government-sponsored periodicals and newspapers from South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portuguese Africa, these publications add depth to the Library's holdings on current African affairs, enabling the researcher to study opposing views on the major questions of nationalism and colonialism in southern Africa. For cultural studies, the Library offers holdings of literary magazines featuring the prose and poetry of contemporary African authors. In addition to the major African cultural reviews such as *Abbia*, *Black Orpheus*, and *Transition*, the collections include periodicals devoted to creative writing in African universities, notably *Cuttington Review*, *Darlite*, *The Jewel of Africa*, *New Coin*, and *Something*.⁵

Researchers using the Library's Africana often find that the African Section can facilitate their work in locating material and information. The section has served thousands of researchers in the past 10 years, including Government officials, scholars at the professional, postgraduate, and undergraduate levels, librarians, and the general public. In fiscal 1969, for example, its staff answered more than 1,700 inquiries by telephone, letter, or in person. For sub-Saharan Africa it provides detailed reference service and a wealth of bibliographic aids on a wide variety of topics. It also serves the reader by directing him to divisions of the Library that have special Africana collections, particularly the Serial, Orientalia, and Near Eastern and African Law Divisions, as well as others, such as the Manuscript, Geography and Map, and Music Divisions.

Growing interest in Africa in both Government and academic circles has created an increasingly heavy demand for bibliographic information beyond that found in standard card catalogs and published guides. Many researchers are concerned primarily with recent developments and must rely heavily on serial literature for their data. Unfortunately, few periodicals on African affairs are indexed in the principal serial guides

and information on their contents is elusive.⁶ To alleviate this situation, the section has developed a card file, broken down by subject and area, of approximately 90,000 citations to serial articles. Most of the references are to articles published in the past five years and the file is growing at a rate of more than 25,000 entries a year. H. Dwight Beers, the section's technical assistant, has organized the guide by interfiling entries from several bibliographic services with cards prepared by the section. Among the principal outside sources of data are *African Abstracts* and *Africa* both issued by the International African Institute, London, and the bibliographic card services of the Centre d'Analyse et de Recherche Documentaires pour l'Afrique Noire (CARDAN) in Paris, the Centre International de Documentation Economique et Sociale Africaine (CIDESA) in Brussels, and the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris.

Most of the major Africana journals published today are covered in the file, together with some of the lesser known periodicals issued in Africa. One of the file's special features is its citations to some 3,000 African literary works arranged alphabetically by author under type of work (e.g., drama, poetry, short story). Other reference tools maintained in the section complement the serials card file by providing information on monographs and special topics. There are, for example, card indexes to abbreviations used by organizations concerned with Africa, to academic research in progress, and to several thousand names of ethnic groups cited in the *Ethnographic Survey of Africa*.⁷

Researchers may also consult the section's reference collection of published bibliographies, yearbooks, guides, pamphlets, and files of current issues of major periodicals. Its special collections include unpublished research papers prepared for academic congresses and sample issues of works in such fields as African linguistics and African literature. Most of this material has been acquired by staff members on publication survey trips or by the Library's Nairobi office. There is, for example, a file of about 200 research studies prepared for the Second International Congress of Africanists (Dakar, 1967) and acquired by Samir M. Zoghby, the section's assistant head and a participant in the congress. For the researcher concerned with African languages, there is a file of

pamphlets and instructional books in approximately 80 African vernaculars. These publications, selected as samples of materials in indigenous languages, cover most of the continent. The emphasis is on languages of eastern Africa as many of the publications were acquired through the Nairobi office, but there is also a good selection of material in Nigerian, Cameroonian, and Congolese languages. In general, the samples consist of elementary readers and Biblical translations and stories prepared by Christian missions, the only types of publications available in some African languages.

Another special file, known collectively as the "Onitsha Publications," includes approximately 90 books written in English as it is spoken in and around Onitsha, a major Niger River commercial center before the Nigerian Civil War. These publications, containing an average of about 50 pages each, were ordinarily available only in a special section of the Onitsha market assigned to booksellers. Sharon B. Lockwood, a former staff member, visited the market in 1966 as part of her publication survey trip, and the African Section's present collection is largely a result of her purchases there. Written and published locally, the Onitsha material has considerable significance for researchers concerned with popular literature in modern Africa. A collector of "Onitsha Publications," Professor André Nitecki of Syracuse University, has described them as defining

in the simplest possible manner the everyday experiences, ambitions and dreams, dramatic changes taking place—in other words, the life of the Onitsha people. They are written in English as it is spoken in the markets, at public meetings, and local schools. The most common subject is love, with its joys and sorrows. The next most popular topics are current affairs, the lives, deeds, and deaths of prominent people of the day, such as [Patrice] Lumumba, [John] Kennedy, [Obafemi] Awolowo, [Nnamdi] Azikiwe. The third category is business hints and "how to do it books." Almost without exception all books have strong moral overtones emphasizing man's duties to himself, his fellow man, and his God.⁸

But in the final analysis, the African Section's most significant contribution to scholarship is its bibliographic compilations, bringing the rich and varied collections of the Library to the attention of scholars and librarians throughout the world. It has prepared 20 studies for publication since

1960, ranging in scope from general guides on sub-Saharan Africa to bibliographies of official publications of a country or region. While basing its guides on the Library's holdings, it also includes selections of entries located in other American research libraries or cited in published bibliographies. Through sales by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, and through the Library's own exchange programs, the studies have been widely distributed.

Until the 1950's bibliographic work with the Library's holdings consisted primarily of compilations on regions or colonial empires that were currently in the international spotlight. The first recorded guide, *List of Books Relating to the West Coast of Africa (excepting Liberia & Nigeria) in the Library of Congress*, was prepared in 1908. This was followed in 1910 by lists on German East Africa and on British East Africa and Zanzibar.⁹ Prepared by the Library's former Division of Bibliography, these short, typescript guides were devoted to works on description, travel, and colonial history. For the next 25 years, the Library bibliographic work on sub-Saharan Africa was negligible, probably reflecting the absence of international crises affecting this area and the lack of widespread American diplomatic and commercial interest there. In the 1920's the only recorded African studies of the Division of Bibliography were a *List of Books on Africa* (1921) and a *List of References on African Oil Palm* (1924).

The emergence of sub-Saharan Africa on the world scene as a prelude to World War II produced the Library's first concerted bibliographic work on this region. In the wake of the Italian invasion and subsequent conquest of Ethiopia, the Division of Bibliography produced a *List of References on Ethiopia (Abyssinia)* in 1935 and *Italo-Ethiopian Dispute: A List of Books and Pamphlets, 1936-July 1937*. With the coming of World War II and the consequent American involvement in world affairs, the Library broadened the scope of its bibliographic coverage to include most of Africa south of the Sahara. In 1942, the division issued lists of references on British, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish possessions in Africa, covering general works on colonial administration and material on individual colonial federations, colonies, and mandated territories. The study on Italian Africa and the

earlier guides on Ethiopia were updated in 1947.

As the increasing economic and political importance of Africa stimulated American interest in the postwar years, Helen F. Conover, a Library bibliographer who became a specialist in African affairs, began to devote her attention to the compilation of more extensively annotated studies. While previous guides had usually been prepared to meet specific needs of Government officials for information on certain strategic areas, the postwar compilations were designed for a broader audience, including the growing number of American scholars concerned with African affairs. In 1952 Miss Conover compiled *Introduction to Africa; a Selective Guide to Background Readings*, a publication of the former European Affairs Division. Based almost entirely on the Library's collections, it was designed to provide the general reader with references on politics, history, culture, and social conditions in each African nation or colonial territory. At the same time, that division prepared a more detailed guide to background reading on Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

These compilations indicated the relative meagerness of American writing on Africa and the need for a guide to current research being carried on in Europe and Africa. The Library responded by preparing a working paper on continuing resources for African studies and by asking foreign institutions to contribute supplementary information. This cooperative effort resulted in the publication of *Research and Information on Africa; Continuing Sources*, prepared by Miss Conover in 1954. As a guide to major scholarly periodicals, it provided the reader with information on the publishers of these journals, including many of the leading universities, research institutes, and learned societies of Europe and Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa was also covered in the series of census bibliographies issued in this period by the Library in cooperation with the U.S. Bureau of the Census. In 1950 the Library's Census Library Project prepared two annotated guides to population censuses and demographic statistics on Africa, one covering British possessions and the other independent countries and other European colonies and territories.

Responding to the growth of African studies and the increasing demand for information in the mid-1950's, the Library issued a two-part

supplement to its *Introduction to Africa* in 1957: *Africa South of the Sahara, a Selected, Annotated List of Writings, 1951-1956* and *North and Northeast Africa, a Selected, Annotated List of Writings, 1951-1957*. In the preface to the former, Miss Conover pointed out that the wealth of material acquired by the Library in the past five years had necessitated the compilation of a supplementary guide larger than the original study prepared in 1952. The two parts were issued separately, she added, "to permit publication before the sections first completed are outdated by the rush of events in Africa and of new works illustrating them."

The establishment of the African Section in 1960 brought an expansion of the Library's bibliographic work on Africana and a greater focus on sub-Saharan material. Its first study, prepared by Miss Conover as a limited-circulation working paper, was *A List of References on Libraries, Archives, and Book Production in Africa*, an annotated guide to monographs, series, and periodicals on sources of material in Africa. Two years later, to meet the demand of both American and foreign libraries for additional information in this field, it issued a revised edition with coverage limited to sub-Saharan Africa. In the initial stage of its bibliographic program the section also recognized the need for guides to the growing amount of Africana produced in this country. In 1962 it compiled *United States and Canadian Publications on Africa in 1960*, covering both monographs and scholarly articles, and *A List of American Doctoral Dissertations on Africa*, including unpublished works accepted by universities in the United States and Canada from the late 19th century through the academic year 1960-61. Subsequent issues of *United States and Canadian Publications on Africa* have been published by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, in its "Bibliographical Series." Beginning with the 1965 issue, this annual guide has also included citations to dissertations.

The dramatic development of American scholarly interest in sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1960's created a demand for more comprehensive guides to current and retrospective literature. Clearly, introductory studies such as those issued by the Library in 1952 and 1957

could no longer meet the needs of students of African affairs working in specific fields of study. In 1963, the section responded to this demand by issuing *Africa South of the Sahara; a Selected, Annotated List of Writings*, a major study of 2,173 entries. Compiled by Miss Conover as the capstone of her distinguished career in the Library, it has been acclaimed by researchers in the United States and abroad as a basic reference tool.

Another of the section's studies widely used as a standard source of bibliographic data is *Serials for African Studies*, a 1963 guide containing 2,082 entries on both current and retrospective periodicals. The need for a revised edition was soon apparent, however, as hundreds of new serials appeared in the mid-1960's and as others ceased publication or changed title, frequency, and place of publication. In 1969, the section completed a three-year project on periodicals relating to Africa south of the Sahara, recording 4,670 titles in Western languages or in African vernaculars in the Roman alphabet. Entitled *Sub-Saharan Africa; a Guide to Serials*, it is scheduled for publication this year. This study includes many of the titles appearing in the earlier publication except that material specifically on North Africa (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic) is excluded. Some of the titles are not devoted entirely to Africa south of the Sahara, but they carry pertinent articles with sufficient regularity to be of value to the Africanist. To assist the reader in identifying the contents of periodicals, annotations to several hundred entries refer to bibliographic card services and guides issued in book form which regularly or occasionally abstract or index the articles in a serial. For example, an annotation to the entry for *Ethiopia Observer* indicates that the contents of this journal are abstracted or indexed in *Africa* (London), *African Abstracts*, and the *American Historical Review*, and by the bibliographic card service of the Centre d'Analyse et de Recherche Documentaires pour l'Afrique Noire (CARDAN).

A major part of the section's bibliographic program throughout its 10-year history has been the compilation of guides to African government documents. For many sub-Saharan nations, official publications are one of the few sources of re-

search data on local economic, social, and political conditions. Departmental and ministerial annual reports and statistics provide a continuing record of programs in such fields as agriculture, commerce, education, health and social welfare, and communications, while parliamentary proceedings and reports of special legislative commissions are often invaluable in research on political and constitutional questions. In its bibliographic work with official documents, the section has included publications of government-sponsored organizations, such as universities, libraries, research institutes, and chambers of commerce, agriculture, and industry. Each compilation is divided into sections covering documents published by both colonial and national administrations in the country or region under review. Selections of material issued by present or former administering powers, such as Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Portugal, are also included. When the guide covers former mandated or trusteeship territories (e.g., Cameroons, Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika), citations are given to pertinent League of Nations and United Nations documents.

In compiling a guide to official publications, the section's professional staff first makes an exhaustive search for material in the Library of Congress. In addition to checking the general collections, the compilers review recent issues of official periodicals in the Serial Division and survey the extensive holdings of legislative material in the Law Library. While these collections provide the basis of the guides to government documents, entries are also prepared for works in other American libraries and for documents cited in various published bibliographies. As part of each compilation, the staff surveys the Africana collections of other libraries in the Washington area, including the National Agricultural Library and the libraries of the Department of State and the Geological Survey. Another major local source is the Joint Library of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has excellent holdings of economic studies on Africa and many scarce items not located in other libraries. For publications held by research centers in other parts of the United States, in Africa, and in Europe, the compilers refer to the

National Union Catalog, to other catalogs reproduced in book form, and to the section's own extensive files of accession lists of African libraries. National bibliographies of the present or former administering powers and periodic price lists of government printers in former British possessions are other useful sources of identification.

The Library's first bibliographic study devoted entirely to African government publications, *Nigerian Official Publications, 1869-1959; a Guide*, was published in 1959. Since then guides have been prepared by the African Section on official documents of most sub-Saharan African countries, from Mauritania in the west to Mauritius in the east, and revisions have been issued for Nigeria and French-speaking West Africa. At present, three studies are in preparation, covering the former High Commission Territories of southern Africa, French-speaking Central Africa, and English-speaking East Africa; this last guide is a revision of the section's four-part bibliography, *Official Publications of British East Africa*, issued during the years 1960 to 1963. Another study in preparation is an annotated guide to publications on Islamic influence in sub-Saharan Africa. The titles of these bibliographies and brief contents notes appear in the list of Library of Congress publications on Africa following the articles in this journal.

The bibliographic program of the African Section has been complemented by studies prepared in other parts of the Library's Reference Department. In 1965 the Serial Division issued a third edition of its *African Newspapers in Selected American Libraries*, a union list of 708 current and retrospective newspapers in both Western and non-Western languages held by 33 American research libraries. The number of institutions responding to the division's questionnaire regarding holdings reflects the rapid development of Africana in American research centers. The first edition compiled by the division in 1956 listed holdings for only eight libraries, while the second edition in 1962 recorded newspapers in 20 American collections. On the music of sub-Saharan Africa, the Library published *African Music; a Briefly Annotated Bibliography*, a guide to monographs and periodical literature compiled in 1964 by Darius L. Thieme of the Music

Division. Another study, *Agricultural Development Schemes in Sub-Saharan Africa; a Bibliography*, was compiled in the General Reference and Bibliography Division by Ruth S. Freitag with the collaboration of scholars outside the Library and with financial support from the African Bibliographic Project of the National Academy of Sciences.

As part of its effort to improve bibliographic control of Africana, the section has supported cooperative projects with other major research libraries. Since 1962, for example, it has regularly contributed information on recent Library of Congress accessions to the *Joint Acquisitions List of Africana*, a bimonthly publication of the Northwestern University Library recording material in the collections of 23 libraries. In the broader field of the acquisition of African publications, the section maintains close liaison with professional associations concerned with the problems of developing strong Africana in American libraries. Members of the section's professional staff are active in the African Studies Association, the principal American scholarly organization bringing together Africanists in various disciplines, and they have served on its Archives-Libraries Committee and its former Policies and Plans Committee. As an ex-officio member of the former group, the head of the African Section participates in the committee's programs for the cooperative acquisition and microfilming of Africana. He also serves on the Association of Research Libraries' Farmington Plan Subcommittee on Africa, which cooperates closely with the Archives-Libraries Committee in projects for the improvement of American collections of African material. Through their participation in the work of these associations, the section's staff members maintain contact with Africanists both in the United States and abroad and expand their own knowledge of African studies programs in various colleges and universities and of the special collections in other research libraries.

Within the Federal Government, the section has actively participated in cooperative projects to encourage African studies and promote the development of library facilities in Africa. In the section's early years, Dr. Reining served on the Advisory Committee on Africa of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council

and played a major role in the committee's efforts to establish liaison between American scholars and the East African Academy of Sciences. Recently, the author participated in the work of the Interagency Book Committee's Task Force on Africa, a group of Africanists in Government service concerned with book production and library facilities. In cooperation with a coordinate organization of publishers and librarians outside the Federal Government, it suggested guidelines for the use of Government agencies and the American publishing industry in improving book programs and library resources in Africa. For several years the head of the section has been a member of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Foreign Area Research Coordination Group, where representatives of agencies concerned with African affairs discuss the systematic coordination of Government-sponsored research in the social sciences, recommend programs for preventing duplication of effort, and call attention to gaps in research on Africa which might be filled by the Government or by academic institutions.

At the international level, staff members have participated in numerous conferences and have assisted in promoting new programs for the advancement of African studies. International liaison began shortly after the establishment of the section in 1960 when Dr. Reining attended the Sixth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Paris and the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow. During the latter meeting, he served as one of four American representatives at a session which recommended the development of a separate international organization for the study of Africa. The Moscow discussions led to the formation of the International Congress of Africanists, and the African Section has sent representatives to its two meetings held to date, at Accra in 1962 and Dakar in 1967. Staff members have also participated in other conferences inaugurating African studies programs in Europe and Africa, such as the first meeting of the Standing Conference on Library Materials on Africa (SCOLMA) of Great Britain (London, 1962), the inauguration of the African Center for Training and Research in Administration for Development (Tangiers, 1965), and the First

World Festival of Negro Arts (Dakar, 1966). As part of the section's effort to promote work in the field of African bibliography, the author and Mr. James of the Nairobi center served as the Library's representatives at the inaugural meeting of the International Conference on African Bibliography (Nairobi, 1967), which brought together librarians from Europe, the United States, and 12 African nations. On this occasion the author read papers on the Library's bibliographic contributions on Africa and on the problems of identifying Africana in serial publications.

Contacts with scholars and librarians in Africa

and Europe as well as the United States have given the section's staff a broad understanding of the problems confronting Africanists throughout the world in locating and acquiring research material. These cooperative efforts have also indicated the need for improved bibliographic control of the growing amount of Africana. To keep pace with the demand for guides to reference material, the African Section has used the abundant facilities of the Library of Congress as the basis of a bibliographic program covering most of sub-Saharan Africa. Thus it is in a strong position to assist Africanists in their research.

NOTES

¹ For a general review of the Library's collections on Africa, see Helen F. Conover's article on "The Library of Congress," in *Handbook of American Resources for African Studies* (Stanford, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1967), p. 40-51.

² For a review of the Library's acquisitions program in eastern Africa, see Jerry R. James' article in this issue.

³ Copies are available for consultation in the African Section. They are listed chronologically below:

Conrad C. Reining. A publication survey trip to West and South Africa. 1962. 18 p.

Covers the 1961 survey of Senegal, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, Congo (Brazzaville), and South Africa.

Conrad C. Reining. A publication survey trip to Central and East Africa. 1963. 23 p.

Covers the 1962 survey of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, and Somalia.

Julian W. Witherell. A publication survey trip to West Africa and France. 1964. 42 p.

Covers the 1963-64 survey of Senegal, Mauritania, Gambia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Togo, and France.

Julian W. Witherell. A publication survey trip to Equatorial and East Africa, France, and Belgium. 1965. 48 p.

Covers the 1964-65 survey of Chad, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo (Léopoldville), Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Mauritius, Réunion, Malagasy Republic, France, and Belgium.

Sharon B. Lockwood. A publication survey trip to West, Central, and Southern Africa. 1966. 69 p.

Covers the 1966 survey of Senegal, Bechuanaland,

Basutoland, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Angola, Nigeria, and Ghana. "Notes on Kenya and Tanzania," by Dr. Witherell, included.

Julian W. Witherell. A publication survey trip to West Africa, Ethiopia, France, and Portugal. 1968. 61 p.

Covers the 1967 survey of Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Togo, Ghana, Ethiopia, Senegal, France, and Portugal.

Samir M. Zoghby. A publication survey trip to West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Tunisia, France, and Belgium. 1968. 53 p.

Covers the 1967-68 survey of Senegal, Congo (Kinshasa), Burundi, Rwanda, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Central African Republic, Chad, Tunisia, France, and Belgium.

⁴ The Serial Division supplied the information on the Library's newspaper collections.

⁵ Bibliographical information for these periodicals follows:

Abbia. no. 1+ fév. 1963+ Yaoundé. illus. irregular.

Black Orpheus. [v. 1+] Sept. 1957+ Ikeja, Nigeria. illus. semiannual.

Cuttington review no. 1+ 1961+ [Monrovia] semiannual. Issued by Cuttington College and Divinity School, Suacoco, Liberia.

DarLite. no. 1+ Sept. 1966+ Dar es Salaam, University College, Dept. of Literature. issued each term.

The Jewel of Africa. v. 1† 1968† Lusaka, Mphala Creative Writing Society, University of Zambia. irregular.

New coin. v. 1+ (no. 1+); Jan. 1965+ Grahamstown, South African Poetry Society, Rhodes University, English Dept. quarterly.

Something. 1+ [1963+] [Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie I University] annual.

Transition. v. 1+ (no. 1+); [Nov?] 1961+ [Kampala] illus. irregular.

* A brief review of the question of identifying Africana articles in serials is given in Julian W. Witherell's "Bibliographic Control of Periodical Literature on Africa: An International Problem," in *The Bibliography of Africa*, ed. by J. D. Pearson and Ruth Jones, London, Frank Cass & Co. for the International African Institute, and New York, Africana Publishing Corp.

In press.

⁷ Published since 1950 in London by the International African Institute.

⁸ André Nitecki, *Onitsha Publications* (Syracuse, Syracuse University, 1967), p. 2-3.

⁹ A list of Library of Congress bibliographies on sub-Saharan Africa is given following this article.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PUBLICATIONS ON AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

In Print

Priced publications may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Add 25 percent for foreign postage. Unless otherwise noted, those not priced are free to libraries and institutions upon request to the Library of Congress, Central Services Division, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Accessions List, Eastern Africa. Jan. 1968 + quarterly.

At head of title: The Library of Congress National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging. Available from Field Director, Library of Congress Office, Eastern Africa, P.O. Box 30598, Nairobi, Kenya.

Africa South of the Sahara; a Selected, Annotated List of Writings. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1963. 354 p. \$2.25.

African Music; a Briefly Annotated Bibliography. Compiled by Darius L. Thieme. 1964. 55 p. 45 cents.

African Newspapers in Selected American Libraries; a Union List. 3d ed. 1965. 135 p. 75 cents.

Agricultural Development Schemes in Sub-Saharan Africa; a Bibliography. Compiled by Ruth S. Freitag under the direction of Conrad

C. Reining and Walter W. Deshler. 1963. 189 p. \$1.25.

French-Speaking West Africa; a Guide to Official Publications. Compiled by Julian W. Witherell. 1967. 201 p. \$1.25.

Includes sections on the federation of French West Africa and its component territories, French Togoland, the Federation of Mali, and the independent states. Also listed are French Government publications relating to these areas, a selection of League of Nations and United Nations publications on French Togoland, and publications of the French Union, the French Community, and the Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache.

Ghana; a Guide to Official Publications, 1872-1968. Compiled by Julian W. Witherell and Sharon B. Lockwood. 1969. 110 p. \$1.25.

Includes sections on the Gold Coast (1872-1957), Ghana, League of Nations and United Nations publications on British Togoland, and British Government documents on these areas.

Madagascar and Adjacent Islands; a Guide to Official Publications. Compiled by Julian W. Witherell. 1965. 58 p. 40 cents.

Includes sections on the French administrations in Madagascar (1896-1958), Comoro Islands, and Réunion, British administrations in Mauritius and the Seychelles Islands, and official documents of France and Great Britain on their respective Indian Ocean possessions.

Nigeria; a Guide to Official Publications. Compiled by Sharon B. Lockwood. 1966. 166 p. \$1.

Supersedes *Nigerian Official Publications, 1869-1959* (out of print). Includes sections on the various administrative units within Nigeria from the beginning of British rule in 1861, the Southern Cameroons, and League of Nations and United Nations publications on British administration in the Cameroons.

Official Publications of British East Africa. Part 1 compiled by Helen F. Conover; parts 2-4 by Audrey A. Walker. 4 v. 1960-63.

1. The East Africa High Commission and Other Regional Documents. 67 p. Out of print.

2. Tanganyika. 134 p. Out of print. Includes a selection of German official documents on German East Africa.

3. Kenya and Zanzibar. 162 p.

4. Uganda. 100 p.

Official Publications of Sierra Leone and Gambia. Compiled by Audrey A. Walker. 1963. 92 p. 55 cents.

Includes sections on Sierra Leone from the time of the Sierra Leone Company, Gambia, and British Government documents on each colony.

Portuguese Africa; a Guide to Official Publications. Compiled by Mary Jane Gibson. 1967. 217 p. \$1.50.

Includes sections on Angola, Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, São Thomé e Príncipe, and Portuguese official documents relating to Africa.

The Rhodesias and Nyasaland; a Guide to Official Publications. Compiled by Audrey A. Walker. 1965. 285 p. \$1.50.

Includes sections on Central African interterritorial agencies prior to federation, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, British official documents on Central Africa, and the British South Africa Company.

Out of Print

The items listed below may be obtained as electrostatic prints from the Library of Congress, Photoduplication Service, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Africa South of the Sahara, a Selected Annotated List of Writings, 1951-1956. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1957. 269 p.

Africa South of the Sahara; an Introductory List of Bibliographies. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1961. 7 p.

African Libraries, Book Production, and Archives; a List of References. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1962. 64 p.

Supersedes in part "A List of References on Libraries, Archives, and Book Production in Africa," prepared as a working paper by Miss Conover (1960. 54 p.).

The British Empire in Africa; Selected References. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1942-43. 4 v.

1. General. 37 p.

2. British West Africa. 32 p.

3. British Eastern and Central Africa. 52 p.

4. The Union of South Africa. 77 p.

Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a Selective Guide to Background Reading. Prepared by Helen F. Conover. Washington, University Press of Washington [1952] 26 p. (Contributions to Learning, No. 1)

Ethiopia: A Selective List of Recent Works. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1947. 42 p.

French Colonies in Africa: A List of References. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1942. 89 p.

Introduction to Africa: A Selective Guide to Background Reading. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. Washington, University Press of Washington [1952] 237 p.

Italo-Ethiopian Dispute: A List of Books and Pamphlets, 1936-July 1937. [1937?] 11 p.

Signed by Florence S. Hellman.

A List of American Doctoral Dissertations on Africa. 1962. 69 p.

List of Books on Africa. Compiled by W. A. Slade. [1921] 6 p.

List of Books Relating to the West Coast of Africa (excepting Liberia and Nigeria) in the Library of Congress. Compiled by H. H. B. Meyer. 1908. 25 p.

List of References on African Oil Palm. [1924] 2 p.

List of References on Certain French African Colonies. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1942. 53 p.

Includes entries on French Equatorial Africa, French West Africa, French Somaliland, and the mandated territories of French Cameroons and French Togoland.

List of References on Ethiopia (Abyssinia). Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1935. 28 p.

A List of References on the Italian Colonies in Africa (Libya, Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and Ethiopia). Compiled by Grace H. Fuller. 49 p. 1942.

A List of References on the Portuguese Colonies in Africa (Angola, Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, São Thomé & Príncipe). Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1942. 29 p.

A List of References on the Spanish Colonies in Africa. Compiled by Florence S. Hellman. 1942. 20 p.

Madagascar; a Selected List of References. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1942. 22 p.

Nigerian Official Publications, 1869-1959; a Guide. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1959. 153 p.

North and Northeast Africa; a Selected List of Writings, 1951-1957. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1957. 182 p.

Official Publications of French Equatorial Africa, French Cameroons, and Togo, 1946-1958; a Guide. Compiled by Julian W. Witherell. 1964. 78 p.

Official Publications of French West Africa, 1946-1958; a Guide. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1960. 88 p.

Official Publications of Somaliland, 1941-1959;

a Guide. Compiled by Helen F. Conover. 1960. 41 p.

Population Censuses and Other Official Demographic Statistics of Africa, not Including British Africa; an Annotated Bibliography. Prepared by Henry J. Dubester. 1950. 53 p.

Population Censuses and Other Official Demographic Statistics of British Africa; an Annotated Bibliography. Prepared by Henry J. Dubester. 1950. 78 p.

Research and Information on Africa; Continuing Sources. 1954. 70 p.

Select List of References on German East Africa. [1910] 7 p.

Signed by H. H. B. Meyer.

Select List of Works on British East Africa and Zanzibar. [1910] 8 p.

Signed by H. H. B. Meyer.

Serials for African Studies. 1961. 163 p.

In Press

Sub-Saharan Africa; a Guide to Serials. 1970. 409 p.

In Preparation

Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland; a Guide to Official Publications of the Former High Commission Territories, 1868-1968. Compiled by Mildred G. Balima.

East Africa; a Guide to Official Publications of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Compiled by John B. Howell and others.

French-Speaking Central Africa; a Guide to Official Publications. Compiled by Julian W. Witherell and Alice L. Sloane.

Islam in Africa South of the Sahara; an Annotated Guide. Compiled by Samir M. Zoghby.

GOVERNMENT AND THE UNIVERSITIES IN AFRICA

by L. Gray Cowan

I would like to talk with you tonight on a topic with which I have been closely concerned over the past three years, the relations between government and the universities in sub-Saharan Africa. From the time of the establishment of university studies at Fourah Bay College in 1876, the development of institutions of higher education in Africa has been the subject of intense, albeit sporadic, discussion in former colonial Africa. The purposes and the structure of the African university have been the concern of numerous commissions and committees, the best known of which perhaps was the 1962 UNESCO Conference on Higher Education in Africa held at Tananarive. The result has been the creation of over 40 new institutions of higher learning throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The foundations for these institutions rested, understandably, on the models derived from the equivalent institutions in the former mother countries. These models were transferred, sometimes, as in the case of the French African universities, almost directly, to the African countries; elsewhere, in the former British colonies, variations on the British model were more often in detail than in fundamental conception.

The objective of the colonial education authorities was to bring to Africa what they considered best in the educational systems with which they were most familiar. This transfer included not only the administrative structure and content of the university curriculum but an expatriate staff, members of which overwhelmingly insisted that the African university should emulate the dignity, the aloofness, and the autonomy of the university in the European tradition. The function of the university should be the objective search for abstract truth; if that function should coincide with specific interests and needs of the society in which the university was placed, it was

by coincidence, not by intention. Because those in charge of the new institutions saw them in universalistic terms, little or no effort was made to distinguish specific new roles for the African universities in the light of the development needs of societies with non-European cultural roots. Particularly in the case of the French African universities, the curriculum enforced by the expatriate administration left virtually no room for adaptation of the university to local conditions.

The insistence of the university on its unique mission of seeking and teaching the objective truth as its faculty may interpret it has created further political difficulties for the institution, particularly in those countries where government is engaged in an effort at social mobilization through the instrumentality of a nationally proclaimed social philosophy. Some governments have made clear that they expect the university, as the producer of the country's most highly skilled manpower, at least to support, if not fully to embrace, the ideological position which is being urged upon the citizens as a whole. Immediately, of course, there is raised the thorny question of academic freedom and the right of each faculty member to teach what he believes to be "the truth." The obverse of the coin is the right

L. Gray Cowan, Director of the Institute of African Studies, Columbia University, gave this address on March 25, 1970, at the Library of Congress in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Library's African Section.

of government to override the authority of the university administration and to require the appointment only of faculty members who espouse the views of government. A subsidiary, but highly important, corollary to this right of appointment concerns the Africanizing of the staff; it has been suggested that preservation by the university of the authority to appoint may be used by expatriates as a cover to prevent the employment of Africans sympathetic to the official line. Aggrey Awori, the liaison officer of the University of East Africa, raised the point squarely in a recent article when he said:

One or two University Colleges have been moulded into a "natural preserve" and an "Ivory Tower" which will remain oblivious to the "ghastly winds of change" during [the] post-colonial era in African nations. These are some of the expatriates who will collide with the host country's government should the latter develop a keen interest to know what is going on in the "Ivory Tower." "University autonomy" and "academic freedom" can be used effectively to block any outside pressures on the University to change or respond to the wishes of the public or government.¹

While the mold and set of the universities was defined in the early years by the expatriate staff, it should be observed that the African educators, and indeed the few African political leaders who were themselves graduates, shared the expatriate views of universities, since they had received their training in the metropolitan areas abroad.

But the majority of the nationalist leaders who formed the first postindependence governments were men whose education had been limited to secondary school. They tended to regard the university with a mixture of awe and even some slight fear, since they felt inferior to the staff and even to the students.

They were peculiarly sensitive to the tendency of the university to hold government at arm's length and to its reluctance to use the expert knowledge of the faculty members to solve the urgent problems of economic development. The university, in its turn, succeeded in giving the impression that its staff members were too fully occupied with the educational process as they understood it to turn their attention to the practical (for which, read "grubby") problems with which national administrators were concerned in their day-to-day work. Reluctance on the part of the expatriate staff to offer their services to

government for fear of being accused of interference in the internal affairs of the nation is understandable, but their critical reaction when the governments, as a result, turned to costly technical advice from foreign contract employees is harder to comprehend.

The growing disillusionment of governments at the failure of the university to institute an active research program to deal with the urgent problems of development in the immediate post-independence years was accompanied by a gradual realization of the burdens imposed by the heavy costs of the university. Although in most cases the capital costs had been met in large part by external donors, recurrent costs were a continuing and ever-rising charge on the educational budget. The per capita student costs of African universities are among the highest in the world, and resentment against the universities began to be expressed in hard-pressed finance ministries and in parliaments. In the allocation of already scarce resources, the university took a disproportionate share which might have gone toward meeting educational needs for which there was much more direct political pressure.

Because of its initial splendid indifference to the practical problems of social transformation, the university in Africa has been unable to create for itself a constituency of loyal supporters in official circles. Symptomatic of this is the reluctance of its graduates to associate themselves with its defense once they have entered upon posts of executive responsibility in government. When confronted with a difficult question, the official's first reaction is to seek the counsel of specially recruited technical advisers rather than to turn to the appropriate faculty members of the university. In some instances where personal confidence has been built up over a period, this attitude has been undergoing substantial change but, by and large, governments have yet to be persuaded to regard the university as a reservoir of knowledge that is immediately at hand and upon which they are entitled to count since it is being paid for from public funds.

We have not time here to explore the argument as to whether "academic freedom" should be interpreted differently in institutions in developing societies as opposed to the interpretation it has acquired for universities in the Western world. The point for our purposes is rather that

disagreement between government and the university regarding the role of the latter as an agent to convey a particular ideological viewpoint has tended to strengthen doubts already planted in official circles about the utility of the university in its present form.

In several countries these doubts have been further reinforced by the sporadic protests of the university's student body against government policies and actions. The university comes to be regarded by government as the vocal nucleus of attack on its political philosophy and on its efforts to promote modernization and national integration. The ruling group is particularly alarmed at student protest because these are the young people who are being trained for tomorrow's leadership and for the cost of whose training the citizen is being heavily taxed. Instead of supporting those in power, the university is seen to play the role of critic, to a point where, in the view of government, it becomes little more than a hotbed of subversion. It remains an easy step to shift the blame from the students to the staff, and more particularly to those staff members whose political views are evidently in disagreement with those of government.

One of the ironies of contemporary Africa is that the institution which was expected to aggregate the interests of the modernizing forces in the new nations has been prevented from doing so, even were it so inclined, by a head-on confrontation with the forces of conservatism in the establishment. In its institutional role the university has failed to take the place expected of it as an agent of progress. In another sense, however, simply by opening new doors of awareness for its students the university has come to play such a potent role as critic that the politician and the administrator are tempted to restrain and redirect its educational efforts.

Under the circumstances both of their origin and of the role they have played, it is understandable that the universities in many African countries have seriously alienated themselves from the governments from which they derive financial support. In consequence there has been a growing tendency on the part of government to exert closer and more direct control over the operation of the university, not only to make

of it an institution more responsive to national needs but to discourage the expression of dissent within its walls. The case in point may well be illustrated by the University of East Africa. The university, which goes out of existence at the end of June 1970, owes its demise, at least in part, to the desire of the governments in the three countries to control directly the future course of national university development, free even from the minimal interference which could be exerted by the authority of the former University of East Africa. The constituent colleges have in the past complained of the restraints placed upon them by the university. Without this buffer, however, their academic freedom of action may well be even more curtailed under the direct supervision of the national governments. While the university existed, any serious attempt to force the constituent colleges to adhere to a prescribed common political point of view would have required the agreement of three governments, and it is unlikely that this could have been achieved. But now that the three principals will be directly responsible to the individual governments it would not be surprising to find that there will be greater pressure on them to enforce conformity to official pronouncements.

If at one end of the scale the universities are alienated from their patrons, the governments, they are equally, if not in greater degree, alienated from their clients, the students, at the other. Student alienation from the universities and disaffection with governments have recently been demonstrated repeatedly throughout northern and sub-Saharan Africa. From 1965 to 1970, 25 incidents of student unrest have been recorded.² The great majority of universities of the continent (excluding South Africa) have been closed for longer or shorter periods as a result. In a few cases students have been killed when they resisted police and army efforts to quell disturbances, and many hundreds have been arrested.

The causes of student unrest in Africa have varied widely from country to country. It would, of course, be easy to dismiss the uprisings as merely an African manifestation of the phenomenon which has become common in Europe and North America. Undoubtedly, this has been in part the case; the presence of metropolitan

French students in French African universities, for example, cannot be overlooked. But even without them, African students are perfectly well aware of what is going on in other parts of the world. The general malaise which has affected students in Western universities could not fail to have its effect in Africa, if for no other reason than that there exists in both areas of the world dissatisfaction with society, albeit for different reasons. But it would be a serious error simply to attribute student unrest in Africa to infection from a virus that has affected European and American students; the underlying reasons for unrest in Africa go deep into the root of the problems associated with the pace of development and change. They reflect an even more acute disenchantment with those in authority than do the uprisings in the West.

The proximate causes for student unrest in Africa range from the trivial to the most fundamental. Objections to the quality of food and lodging and to administrative reprimand for language used in student publications are ranged against deep-seated disagreement over national political philosophies and government policies on development planning, as well as failure to provide higher standards of living and better economic opportunity for all groups of citizens. Government efforts to control student political activity and to repatriate nonnationals, as at Dakar, as well as attempts to repress dissident opinion, have been behind many protests. Forcible intervention by the authorities in the election of student leaders is coupled with refusal to permit members of opposition groups to speak on the university campus. Prominent among the immediate issues calling forth strong student protest was the decision of some governments to reduce scholarships from a 12- to a 10-month basis. Combined attacks by students and parents forced the educational authorities to give way and to restore the full annual payment in at least two cases.

Examination of the range of reasons advanced by African student bodies for their protests yields no evidence of the planned external stimulus which some governments have insisted has been the real reason for the upsurge of dissatisfaction. At the same time, however, there is sufficient similarity from country to country to make it possible to identify a number of common factors

which underlie the protests, although these factors are, of course, present in different degrees in each individual situation.

One of the most salient of these factors centers about the mounting strains experienced by the students as a result of their essentially ambivalent role in a rapidly changing society. They are strongly aware of their privileged position as students in comparison with the great majority of their fellow citizens, and at the same time their education makes them acutely conscious of the failure of government to bring about promised economic progress and higher standards of living. They see at the top nepotism, corruption, and maldistribution of income combined with what they conceive to be the incompetence of those in authority, while around them are urban slums and the peasant farmer who is still little above the subsistence level. Student demands at the University of Dakar in 1968 illustrate their case against government. After detailing various expenditures by government, they concluded:

The government does not devote even a quarter of the national budget to education. The amount given to education is one billion francs less than that spent by the Office of the President and by the armed forces. It may be concluded that the priority of the Senegalese government is not, as is claimed, education, but rather the maintenance of the forces of repression.

Whatever may be the validity of the students' case against the authorities, it is everywhere weakened by the internal contradiction that they are dependent on government for their future careers. Government not only provides their education but is the source of later employment rewards. As a result the intensity of the conflict between the students and the government very rarely reaches the point of advocating the overthrow of authority. It might be added, however, that a degree of correlation exists between the tensions observable in the university and the level of strain within the body politic in general. Where it has been possible to contain the grievances of the students within the university structure, it is a sign that the "political temperature" of the country is reasonably low. In those cases where the students' cause has been taken up by the urban trade unions and by the secondary school students, as was the case in Dakar, and expanded into national demands for reform, it is indicative

that the regime may be in real danger. There may be an even greater threat if an existing left-wing political opposition is successful in radicalizing the students to the point where they are prepared to join in a general effort to reform the system by violence.

Two further elements of strain within the university concern the relevance of the curricula to perceived educational needs and the presence of a heavy expatriate representation in the faculty. The students have argued that the present university curricula, being based on those of the metropolitan countries, are not designed to meet the needs of African countries today and that entrance requirements are predicated on European standards, which are inapplicable to Africa, given the limited facilities for secondary school education in most countries. Particularly in the French-speaking universities their case would appear to be substantiated. The curricula at Dakar and elsewhere have, up until 1969, followed completely the prescription laid down for the universities in France, with little concession being made to teaching subject matter directly concerned with either the African background or with contemporary African problems. The counterargument of the university administration rests on the contention that Africans must not be given a second-rate education and that both the scope of their knowledge and the standards set for graduation must be fully the equivalent of those in France. This argument might well be quite acceptable were it not weakened by the fact that the substantial number of metropolitan French students attending the African universities demand that they receive identical training to that given in France so that they may proceed directly to professional schools in the *métropole*.

Africanization of the curriculum poses, to French-speaking African students, a serious dilemma. So long as the curriculum of Dakar or Abidjan is the same as that in France, the degree carries the full legal validity of a French degree and affords automatic entrance to postgraduate work or to practice of the professions in France. The African graduate who finds that, for personal or professional reasons, it is preferable to leave his own country faces no legal barrier to pursuing his career in the *métropole*. Any full-scale adaptation of subject matter to an African setting or any departure from French standards

would automatically tend to vacate this privilege since the degree would then have only *équivalence* instead of legal prescription. The young African nationalist, eager to support the development of an African-oriented university, can only do so at the expense of limiting the prospects of his future career. Yet at the same time the students argue persuasively that the real objective of the university should be to meet the planned manpower needs of the nation. Any policy of artificially limiting the number of those who are able to pass examinations by imposing unsuitably high standards is, they feel, bound to defeat the national objective of supplying necessary developmental skills. When, a short time ago, a heavy percentage of secondary school students failed their graduation examinations in the Ivory Coast, the accusation was promptly leveled by both parents and students that the French secondary school teachers on technical assistance in the Ivory Coast were seeking to limit the number of potential university entrants so as to preserve their own overseas jobs. A memorandum issued by students in Dakar points up their view of the role of the African university as a resource for trained manpower:

The aim of the African universities is not to deliver diplomas recognized in Paris, London and Washington but to form suitably trained manpower; only an appreciation of this duty will confer real value on an African diploma.

It is probably inevitable that the slow pace of Africanizing the faculty of the universities should have aroused student opposition. While there were sound academic reasons for maintaining some senior posts in expatriate hands, opportunities to appoint Africans to junior staff posts were often passed over, and Africans already employed were not promoted rapidly to positions of responsibility. It was only in 1969, for example, that the posts of deans of the faculties were Africanized at Dakar; the record of the English-speaking universities is substantially better but even this is of relatively recent date. Students at Dakar saw in the expatriate faculty members the ever-present threat of neocolonialism and continued European influence through expatriate control over the university. This they regarded as simply a further manifestation of French dominance over the economy of Senegal. They

blamed the government for its collaboration with the French, which they condemned as a new form of colonial exploitation. They asserted:

It goes without saying that the economic crisis from which our country is suffering is fundamentally the fault of the present government. The clear separation today between the working masses of Senegal on the one hand and the parliamentary bourgeoisie proves that the latter is exploiting the people more and more and that it is there only for its own interests and those of foreign, especially French, capitalists.

The knowledge that by far the larger part of the university's budget was contributed by the French treasury in no way altered the students' opposition to the French faculty members.

The conflict at Dakar in 1968 and 1969 between government and the students reflects fairly accurately the state of tension existing under similar circumstances in many other African countries. It is important, I think, to observe that the university, although it may be the focus of discontent, is only rarely the sole object of the student demands for reform. The real goal is political reform, and confrontation with university authorities is only preliminary to confrontation between the students and government. The objective of the minority student group spearheading the unrest is first to politicize their fellow students and ultimately to politicize the people as a whole. In those cases where student grievances are shared and understood by large numbers of the people, the students are likely to receive a sympathetic hearing. If, on the other hand, student demands are considered to be in the selfish interest of a small, elite group, popular opinion is more inclined to support a harsh reaction from those in authority. Thus, in Dakar student protest was symptomatic of a generalized feeling of discontent and was able therefore to muster, at least temporarily, help from the trade unions. In return, a minority of the protesting students continued to insist that the trade unions' demands be satisfied even after the majority had agreed to go back to the university when government had met their most immediate grievances. In Dar es Salaam in 1966 there was little objection made to the forceful measures taken by the government to rusticate striking students, since popular opinion apparently shared the official view that the student protest was essentially self-centered.

However successful student unrest may be in forcing the authorities to meet the immediate demands made by the protesters, the university is probably the real loser in the long run. If the faculty and administration resist the student claims, they lose the confidence of their clientele in greater or lesser degree. They are assumed by the students to be in league with the reactionary attitudes and repressive activities of government, and to the protesters this merely proves the accuracy of the case they are seeking to make. If the administration seeks to defend the right of the university to deal with its own internal affairs in the face of government's accusation that it is unable to control its students, its chief officer and the expatriate faculty who support him may suffer the same fate that befell the unfortunate former rector of the University of Abidjan. Alternatively, if the members of the faculty support the students against the administration, the mutual confidence that must exist between faculty and administrators for satisfactory functioning of the institution will inevitably be lost.

The student body at best becomes suspicious and even more inclined to react violently to the promptings of a radical minority of their number. In turn this produces more extreme reaction on the part of government and an escalation of repression which has in some cases resulted in death and in closing the institution for protracted periods. When it is finally reopened, it is usually less free from outside direction than it was before. The university becomes the victim of an attack on one side by its students for its intellectual irrelevance and its political pusillanimity and on the other by government for its inability to restrain the opposition that springs from the political socialization of its students.

If the African university today risks isolation from its students and from those in political power, it appears equally likely that it may be isolated from the main trends of development in higher education outside Africa. I have already pointed out that the models for the universities of English-speaking Africa were those of the interwar period in England. Senior staff members, both expatriate and African, are for the most part products of the British universities of this time or of the immediate postwar years. Those expatriates who have spent a large part of their professional

careers in the colonial universities have had comparatively little contact with the thinking of the generation of students now in the British universities, nor have they been part of the revolution in British higher education that has been signaled by the advent of the "plate glass" universities. The newest pedagogical techniques and new approaches to subject matter, particularly in the social sciences, have not become part even of the more recently established African universities. African staff members who have achieved early distinction in scholarly research are all too often pressed into service as vice chancellors and deans and into other administrative posts which leave them little or no time to maintain contact with their own fields let alone newer directions in higher education.

To an even greater degree these comments apply to the French-speaking universities. Reform of a rigid and sometimes antiquated university system in France has come only in the wake of violent student reaction over the past three years. The new conceptions and methods being applied at Vincennes and elsewhere in France find little reflection as yet in Africa, although recent reforms at the universities in Dakar and Abidjan demonstrate that the younger staff members are aware of the necessity of a more liberalized curriculum and of the possibilities of new approaches in teaching. Indicative of the growing awareness of metropolitan French educational authorities that the changes in French higher education will have to be reflected in Africa is the statement by State Secretary for Education Pierre Billecocq at the meeting of ministers of education of French-speaking African countries at the end of February 1970 in Nouakchott:

It would be paradoxical to say the least to see classical faculties springing up all over Africa at a time when the countries where this concept of higher education originated are abandoning it because it is too rigid to meet the needs for which it was intended.³

In English-speaking Africa the same influence has been exerted on university curricula by the presence of staff members from the United States, Canada, and European countries, and, indeed, a few institutions such as the University of Nigeria at Nsukka and Njala College in Sierra Leone have been strongly affected by the American model.

But, by and large, vested interests in the university structure as it now stands, combined with the high capital costs of extensive physical changes and enlargements, operate to discourage imaginative innovation. As a result the African institutions of higher learning stand in a curious limbo. The very real danger is present that they will become anachronisms in their own time. There is little immediate prospect that they will be able to benefit substantially from the reforms taking place in higher education in the former mother countries, because contact with metropolitan education will tend to be reduced as expatriate staffs become smaller, especially at the junior level, and the former ties of the African universities to metropolitan institutions become weaker. It is, of course, entirely possible that the reforms undertaken in Britain and France to fit their universities to the educational needs of fully developed societies in the second half of the 20th century may not necessarily be any more suitable for export to Africa than were the basic British and French models now in place.

Yet, as they are at present constituted, the African universities have, as I have indicated, shown themselves to be disinclined to relate to the immediate problems of the developing societies around them or even to take these problems as serious matters of university concern. Developmental economics has not, for example, been taught until very recently in French Africa simply because it was not a subject in the French curriculum, and to inaugurate the subject non-French expatriates had to be found. At a recent meeting attended by several vice chancellors of African universities there was lively debate on whether agriculture was really a subject which should be taught at a university at all or whether it was better left to colleges at a lower level: In a country where 90 percent of the people are dependent upon farming for a living, the full agricultural faculty of the major university turned out some nine graduates in 10 years of operation. Similar examples of the failure of the universities to face squarely the crucial lacunae in the communities in which it was hoped they would provide development leadership can be cited from many African countries. Without a fundamental change of approach, many African universities may find that they are neither part of the mainstream of educational advance in the developed

countries nor yet adapted to make a significant contribution to education for development.

In the past few minutes I have sketched a somewhat discouraging picture of the present state of relations of the African university to its patron and to its clients. But I would not want to leave the impression that I believe the plight of the university is irremediable nor that the institution cannot itself take effective steps to correct the mood of distrust and suspicion which so frequently surrounds it. As a result of student protest, governments in Africa have become in recent months much more conscious of the state of their relations with institutions of higher learning and are taking steps, albeit in some cases rather hesitatingly, to reexamine the role of the university in national society and to seek a redefinition of the university's mission. At both Dar es Salaam and Makerere College in Uganda, visitation committees have been appointed in preparation for the disappearance of the University of East Africa. The task of the committees, composed of prominent citizens, is to scrutinize the accomplishments of the institution up to now and chart future changes in structure, curriculum, and administration that, it is hoped, will relate the university more closely to the modernizing process.

At the University of Dakar, as a result of the serious disturbances of 1968, a Reform Commission was appointed to recommend changes in the overall makeup of the university offering, in order to reduce the theoretical component of the course work and to substitute for it practical preparation in the professions. The commission, composed of representatives of the university, government, student groups, business, trade unions and farmers, called in its report for extensive changes to free the curriculum from its identification with French requirements, for substantially greater local control over the activities of the university, and for much more rapid Africanization of the staff. The reforms are being implemented slowly, often in the face of resistance by some metropolitan French staff members who see in them the usual "lowering of standards" but also the more rapid termination of their careers in Dakar. Government pressure for change will continue to be limited so long as the university remains dependent on French assistance for well over half

of its operating budget. Given the serious economic difficulties of Senegal and of the surrounding countries from which the student population is drawn it is highly doubtful whether the African financial contribution to the university can be measurably increased in the foreseeable future. But the direction of change has been publicly proclaimed, and this will serve to relax the tensions of the past few years.

It has become clear that the African university cannot be the remote, self-governing island of learning that it has been, any more than can its European counterpart. Just as European and American universities are being called upon to prove their relevance to the Western world of the seventies, so, too, must the African university prove its relevance to the special and pressing demands of Africa of the seventies and beyond. This does not mean that the traditional concerns of the university for new knowledge and the quest for abstract truth need fall by the wayside. Rather, it implies that these must share a place in the African university with research designed to provide immediate, operational answers to the problems of transforming a rural society.

If the African university is to become a genuine part of the community, its thrust must be downward and outward, not upward toward the production of an even smaller and more specialized elite. Such a thrust will perhaps reduce the emphasis on high-cost postgraduate facilities which, while they may be satisfying to the academic soul, are a questionable luxury in countries where no more than 10 percent of primary school graduates will have the opportunity even of secondary school training. Of necessity there will have to be fresh emphasis on the university's role in upgrading and improving the skills of those who will never be able to follow intramural courses. Broadly planned extension services using new techniques of teaching will have to be a much more central part of university operations than they have been in the past. As a national resource the university will never be fully and properly utilized if it confines its attention to the comparative few who are able to come to it.

It is possible also that if the task of training middle-level manpower is to be accomplished, it will be necessary in many countries to develop some alternative to the university that will provide for short-term training in specialized skills

(for example, agricultural project management) for secondary school graduates who are unable to enter the university. The prestige and financial rewards attached to a university degree are still such in developing countries that those who cannot attain this eminence feel bitter and frustrated. An alternative to the university must be created in such a way that it is seen to confer prestige in the society, perhaps not the prestige of a graduate, but at least a measure of real distinction. If this type of training could be conducted within the framework of the university, this problem might be partially solved, particularly if it were clear that it did not exclude the possibility of attending the university at some future date, possibly with advance credit.

An example of the type of training which might be given under the aegis of the university and which is so badly needed everywhere in Africa is the preparation of paramedical personnel. African medical schools have been reluctant to engage in the training of students other than those who will receive a full medical degree. Apart from the fact that the overhead costs are staggering in relation to the numbers turned out in medicine, little of the benefit accrues to the mass of those in the rural areas because few doctors are content to remain outside the urban agglomeration. But if the training of semiprofessional medical assistants, qualified only for limited diagnosis and treatment of illnesses more common to rural areas, could be affiliated with a university medical school rather than with a program operated by a Ministry of Health, the prestige of university association might serve to attract greater numbers of more able people to this badly undermanned field.

The African university has suffered almost since the beginning from the myth, often encouraged by external donors, that its goal was to become a "center of excellence" either for its own country or for a region. In the abstract, the concept of a center of excellence could seem to raise little objection. The difficulty has been, however, that the definition of excellence has all too often been made by outsiders, based on comparison with institutions in the Western world whose goals may not be those of African universities and which may not be subjected to the intense internal stresses felt by African

schools. "Excellence" as a standard of comparison can only be relative, but emphasis on it has not infrequently led African institutions to overextend themselves in pursuit of an artificially conceived measure of attainment in research or in scholarly distinction of faculty members, which has deflected them from a more modest but much more utilitarian end.

In my view, the universities would find their relevance, as well as their effectiveness, substantially greater were they to seek to become "centers of development-oriented innovation." If their research, both theoretical and applied, were heavily directed toward innovative solutions to the problems of development, they would be serving the best interest of both the university and the government. It is unlikely that many African universities will excel in the near future in research in the higher reaches of pure science, not because they are incapable of it, but because of the exceedingly heavy cost of the equipment necessary in many scientific fields. It is more probable that their contribution to knowledge for the next two or three decades may well lie in the innovative application of already known techniques to the most pressing needs of the industrial and agricultural revolution in each individual state.

We have not seen the end of student unrest in the African universities, nor will we in the present decade because its roots go deeper than just dissatisfaction with the institutions of higher learning. Rather, the tensions between the university, the government, and the students stem from the national crisis of the legitimization of authority through which all the new states of Africa are now passing. The university can play a role in resolving this crisis only if it is able to show that it has a relevant contribution to make to the needs of the government that maintains it and to the lives of the students it serves.

NOTES

¹ "East African University Must Be Africanised," *East Africa Journal*, 4: 20 (December 1967).

² I am indebted to my student Mrs. Marcia Hiller for her research into student uprisings in Africa, and I have drawn on her perceptive analysis in the following paragraphs.

³ Quoted in *Le Monde Weekly Selection*, March 4, 1970.

A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OVERSEAS ACQUISITIONS CENTER

by Jerry R. James

When, at the end of July 1966, my wife, our two daughters, their dachshunds, and I disembarked from an SAS plane in Nairobi, Kenya, the mantle of the Library of Congress National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging (NPAC) was theoretically extended to cover Ethiopia, French Somaliland (now the French Territory of the Afars and Issas), Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Mauritius and Réunion, the Malagasy Republic, and the Seychelle Islands. In retrospect I realize that I was bewildered and a little frightened by the magnitude of the task ahead. Fortunately, from the very beginning there was so much to do that major concerns were pushed to the outer fringes of my mind, a defense mechanism no doubt. One by one they were brought into focus as the work progressed and experience gained in one instance could be applied to another. Without this, a sense of humor, and an appreciation for the ridiculous, I might have been overwhelmed.

In a sense I was returning to Nairobi. Little more than a month earlier I had visited Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia in the amiable company of Edmond Applebaum, now Assistant Director

for Acquisitions and Overseas Operations, Processing Department, and Julian Witherell, Chief, African Section. We had surveyed these three countries, generally representative of the area, preparatory to making a final decision on establishment of a regional acquisitions office for Eastern Africa.

The National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging (NPAC) was established under Title II-C of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which gave the Librarian of Congress the responsibility of acquiring all materials of value to scholarship that are currently published throughout the world, of cataloging them promptly after receipt, and of distributing bibliographic information about them through printed cards or other means. To meet the objectives of the program, the Library of Congress has established overseas nine shared cataloging and three regional acquisitions centers and has worked out cooperative agreements with national libraries and national bibliographies in 22 countries for the use of catalog entries prepared by those institutions. Mr. James, who was formerly the Field Director for NPAC activities in East Africa, here describes the founding of one such regional acquisitions outpost in Nairobi, Kenya.



Mr. James travels in a gharri to visit government offices in Asmara, Ethiopia.

Our survey had concentrated on an analysis of the burgeoning book trade, the status of our blanket orders, and the increase in institutional publishing. Rapid changes had taken place in the immediate postindependence period and, as the new nations gained greater self-confidence, the demand for development accelerated the rate of change, with a concomitant restructuring of old institutions and founding of new ones.

National pride, we found, required new outlets for African authors. Branches of old-line British publishers were shifting to local publishing of text and trade books. The expansion of educational resources at all levels had created and was continuing to create an expanded market for books of every type. Pride, economy, language, and unique educational programs provided the stimuli for indigenous publishing.

It was disconcerting to discover that the bookstores, our traditional blanket-order dealers, had sometimes changed ownership and had almost

always changed policies. As a rule the new policies had eliminated marginal blanket-order services, but little had been done to inform their customers of this. Orders for specific titles were still accepted. But wasn't this the heart of the problem? How did one know what was being published and, therefore, what to order? Departing British employees were replaced by Africans, who were often unacquainted with the needs of foreign libraries. Selection in conformity with a blanket order was difficult or impossible in the circumstances. Bookstore managements scrambled for lucrative textbook contracts and forgot former service relationships with foreign libraries.

That there was a great increase in institutional publishing was clear. At the same time, we thought that we could discern a decrease in the attention paid to distribution and the exchange of publications. Foreign foundations, interested in the progress of the fledgling nations, were providing more funds for research, the expansion of

university faculties, and the creation of new institutions. The United States, the United Nations, Britain, and many European governments were supplying assistance that would eventuate in publications, although these were not the primary objectives of their programs.

We did not have to look for change; the feel of it penetrated the senses. Addresses were changed, streets renamed to honor new leaders, departments switched from one ministry to another, old offices swept away and new ones established. There were shifts in chains of command and lack of attention to old responsibilities or ignorance of them. Especially in the new governments there were transformations and consolidations, reorganization and renewal; growth and lapse existed side by side. Some institutions languished or died while others were born and grew. From a distance no one had, perhaps no one could have, kept up with all this.

Our survey clearly showed that there were valuable scholarly materials to be acquired in the area and that blanket orders and exchange, the traditional acquisitions techniques, were insufficient to meet the need. Only on-the-spot activities could achieve real results. The three of us were agreed that Nairobi, the hub for transportation in the region, offered the best opportunities for acquiring office space and competent staff.

What the survey did not show was how to accomplish the objectives of the program. The implication of course was that dogged "leg-work" was required. Beyond this there were few guidelines to the newness of the area. Somehow a program had to be organized, housed, and staffed to cover an area of almost two million square miles. Within this region publications were being issued in three European languages, Arabic, and a host of indigenous tongues. In Somalia a man had just introduced Osmanias, a written form for the Somali tongue; perhaps it was just as well that I did not know this for some time.

We did not really know the number of institutions with which contacts would have to be established. The potential was enormous. When I arrived in Nairobi I had a single divisor, one body, for the whole of the institutional community. I took a perverse pleasure in dividing a theoretical number of entities by two legs; this way the quotient was less disturbing.

I do not say that I fretted over things as they

were. I worried as do fathers with errant sons or teen-age daughters out later than the specified hour. In time discipline can be applied, understanding gained, and progress achieved. I was reminded of the refrain of the opening song in *The Music Man*: "But he doesn't know the territory." This was true, but I took comfort in the fact that few did.

It seemed to me that I ought to make a microcosmic study of Kenya in the weeks before my family and the office were settled. The procurement of publications in other countries, I thought, could only be more or less difficult than what I hoped to establish as the Kenya standard. There were many things that had to be done in Nairobi. Apart from accommodations for my family, at least temporary quarters for an office had to be found. I needed a secretary, office furniture and equipment, a post office box, and official stationery. I thought that these were minimal requirements without which we could not expect our program to be taken seriously. In between these household chores I could study the situation in Kenya in depth. What I learned would be a help in formulating a sort of checklist for use in other countries. I confess that in a way I was groping; nothing would ever be quite that simple, but I had made a beginning.

Office space was difficult to find and I settled for the moment for a month-to-month rental of an interior balcony overlooking four rows of orphaned used cars. I borrowed discarded office furniture and equipment from the Embassy until our own could be ordered, manufactured, and delivered. The desks were battered but functional; the file cabinet, no matter where I put it, seemed attracted by magnetic north and the second drawer refused to budge. No matter; I had little enough for the top drawer. The typewriters had been beaten into a reluctant and erratic submission and performed like factory rejects.

I went daily to these unpromising quarters, in which for some time I worked in lonely dreariness, and I left as quickly as I could to begin a round of calls and to complete other necessary arrangements for the office. I thought it unfair to interview prospective secretaries outside the office—after all, this would be headquarters for a while—but I realized that the location and condition might make it more difficult to find a suitable person. Fortunately, this was not the case.

It seemed fitting first to call at the bookshop of the Library's former blanket-order dealer. In the absence of anyone in real authority, I struck up an acquaintance with the first available employee willing to talk. I introduced myself, careful to add "of the United States of America" after "Library of Congress." I thought that this might be an impressive way to set the stage for our conversation. I don't believe it was; it meant very little one way or the other to the young female clerk. I said, "This store used to be our blanket-order dealer." She shook her head slowly. "The only things we've ever sold," she said, "are books and magazines." I must have registered shock because she added, "and school supplies."

Visits to other bookstores revealed that, although all of them stocked local publications, none of them stocked *all* commercial books published in Kenya. They were not deliberately selective, in my opinion; rather they bought what was called to their attention and made little effort to learn about what was not. The lesson was obvious: where no national bibliography, or something akin to one, existed, periodic calls on every bookstore worthy of the name would have to be made in all principal cities in the region.

Calls on Kenyan commercial publishers confirmed this view. The people I talked with listened politely when I explained our program and its needs. I went to considerable pains to emphasize our desire to acquire all current monographs of value to scholarship for shipment to Washington, where they would be rapidly cataloged and a printed card issued. I showed them a card. I went on to say that the bibliographic entry would also appear in the monthly, quarterly, annual, and, eventually, in the cumulative issues of the *National Union Catalog*. The existence of the book would be brought to the attention of the world of scholarship and I suggested that this could lead to increased sales for the books we selected and acquired. These kind and sympathetic gentlemen were not impressed. They knew that however great our impact would be on the research community, the resultant increase in sales would be nearly negligible. And they were right, as things then stood. A little more than a year later, when our office began to publish *Accessions List: Eastern Africa* and to distribute several hundred copies of it in Africa and abroad, the interest in cooperation was keener. On initial

contact, however, the publishers simply promised to keep us supplied with information, instructed some otherwise occupied person to do so, and left it at that. The results were not encouraging.

Visits to government offices and institutions were very much more satisfactory, although at first they were sometimes frustrating. My brief when I left Washington was to acquire current monographs. But if the office I visited produced only serials, was time to be wasted by coming away empty-handed when there, for the asking, were materials of value and importance? The basic legislation under which we were operating included "all current materials of value to scholarship." I therefore expanded the brief.

The greatest frustrations came with calls on exchange partners. Theoretically, if an exchange were active and all-inclusive, we could assume that the Library of Congress was already receiving the material. In practice, however, such an assumption could never be made, unless the Nairobi center received the material, processed it, and shipped it. Uncertainty was bound to lead to the twin sins of duplication and omission. I felt that we had to assume local responsibility for the receipt of all materials from exchange partners and reported this to Washington.

As a result, the Exchange and Gift Division wrote letters to all exchange partners in the territory covered, suggesting a local address to which materials could be mailed for receipt and initial processing in the Nairobi center. It took time and careful study to devise and organize a method to effect this departure from traditional exchange operations. Once done, the impact was immediate. The most important results were that we received a great deal of material automatically. The letters from the Exchange and Gift Division and our follow-up letters reminded many institutions that an exchange agreement existed and helped to reactivate it. The Nairobi center could concentrate its efforts on materials that were not received and on visits to institutions that had not responded to the letters. This is not to say that personal calls on active exchange partners were eliminated, but the time between visits was lengthened. The new system provided institutions on tight budgets with a cheaper method for mailing than overseas postage. In some countries packages were hand-carried to our local address, the U.S. Embassy.

Previous research in Washington had not revealed the existence of a national bibliography for Kenya. However, I thought that I might look for a substitute, some distantly related listing of books, or an institution with the desire, capability, and need to collect Kenyan publications, or at least monographs. The efforts I did discover were halfhearted and underfinanced. In most newly developing countries there are seemingly more important things to do.

Nevertheless, I developed what was almost a short litany: Was there a national bibliography? Was there a deposit law? Did a registration act exist? Were there book reviews in newspapers and magazines? Did specialized periodicals review new books in their fields of interest?

In Kenya there was a registration law for printed materials, but it did not apply to government documents or monographs which most local institutions were producing by other than typeset methods. I doubt that many agencies, except commercial firms, were aware of the law.

On a temporary basis I employed a personable young Watusi to check the records of the Registrar General. He found that almost the only titles registered were commercial publications in full display and readily available from bookshops. Despite these negative answers to my questions, the quest for a current national bibliography or the possibility of creating one was extended to other countries, sometimes with better results.

I have lingered over my first experiences in Kenya because they are fairly representative of those in other countries. There was never really an end in sight to the rounds of calls on booksellers, libraries, government offices, and institutions; nor was there a completely satisfactory substitute. Our work was made easier as we arranged to receive monthly current listings of national publications in Ethiopia, Malawi, and the Malagasy Republic. For Tanzania and Uganda the admirable accessions lists of the universities were substitutes. In Mauritius the Archives Department produces a national bibliography in its excellent annual report. With these in hand we at least knew what had been published. Acquiring what we wanted was a different problem, but seeking the known is more efficient and economical than looking for the unknown.

As the work progressed and increased, we

moved into satisfactory office space near the university, sharing a top floor with the American Embassy's Budget and Fiscal Section. Our own office equipment began to arrive and was often unpacked and in place when I returned from visits to other countries. The staff increased.

I was the director, an American, with a British secretary. We added a British and a Goan cataloger and for one brief, bright period, a Biafran with an M.A. in Library Science. We had a Kenyan driver, a Pakistani administrative assistant, and a Seychelloise and a British clerk. Kenyans with library degrees or administrative experience were in great demand in government and industry. For us to lure them from national commitments seemed a disservice.

Having surveyed the entire territory, except the Seychelle Islands, I was ready to turn over a part of the burden—and the pleasure—of travel to other members of the staff, when new employment laws were enacted and immigration laws rigorously enforced. Most members of the staff were non-Kenyan. If they were to travel there was a risk—no doubt a small one—that they might find themselves in permanent exile. Until the situation became clear, I continued to make the trips.

The greater our progress in acquiring materials, the greater was my concern for the U.S. research libraries interested in African materials. Were acquisition by the Library of Congress and the resulting printed card really enough to guide them to new African monographs? Were not the difficulties of acquisition so great that they needed a more explicit key to these and other materials?

At the same time we were receiving more and more publications as gifts or on exchange and I wanted a locally produced publication to offer in return for this continued cooperation. I needed some tangible means to convince governments, publishers, and institutions that they too were beneficiaries of our bibliographic work. This was not altruism but rather the self-interested desire to remind everyone concerned that we were there, that we needed their help, that their publications were received and listed, and that we were really helping one another.

A quarterly accessions list produced by the center in Nairobi seemed suited to fulfill both purposes. The first issue, dated January 1968, in-



Jerry James discusses some features of the first Accessions List: Eastern Africa with Jerimaj Nyagah, Minister of Natural Resources for Kenya, who also has jurisdiction over the National Archives of Kenya. Photo courtesy of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Kenya.

cluded entries for all the monographs acquired and given preliminary cataloging in the center through December 31, 1967. The introduction promised that future lists would contain information regarding the latest issues received of annual publications and new serial titles commencing publication after January 1, 1968. An added promise to list once a year all the serial publications that the center was receiving was announced in the April 1968 issue.

Next to the sheer effort of acquiring materials, our greatest problem was cataloging publications in indigenous African languages. The three European languages in current use, and even Arabic, posed no great difficulties. Amharic and

Osmania, with distinct alphabets to master, were another matter. We expected to receive materials each year in as many as 45 African languages that used the roman script. Later estimates indicated that our expectations were under the mark; the 132 vernacular titles received in 1967 and the 124 in 1968 involved 83 vernacular languages printed in Eastern Africa.

We tackled Amharic, the language of Ethiopia, first. It seemed to be our biggest cataloging problem, both because of its script and because we expected to acquire more publications in this African language than in any other.

The problem was discussed with the library of Haile Selassie I University and the Institute of

Ethiopian Studies, which had already agreed to provide us with a current monthly bibliography of Ethiopian acquisitions. A contract was negotiated and signed to provide us with typewritten cards. These appeared to meet our needs until we discovered that no typewriter had been invented that included all forms of Amharic script and its diacritical marks. Thus, only entries set in type would be of use to the Library of Congress. Further complicating the situation was the lack of an approved transliteration scheme. The longer we worked to solve the problem, the greater the difficulties became. Amharic presented so many problems that I came to the conclusion that a special set of cataloging rules was required to ensure consistency. The problem was still unsolved when I left Nairobi in 1968, but we had succeeded in establishing its dimensions. The Amharic Transliteration Table has now been completed in draft form by the Library of Congress Descriptive Cataloging Division and is ready to be presented to the Library's Orientalia Processing Committee for approval.

Difficulties with other African languages, except Osmania, were more amenable to solution. I was grateful that European missionaries, using the roman alphabet, had been the first to develop the written languages of the region.

We were collecting elementary readers as examples of the various languages. Some of these had the added value of relating tribal legends that existed in no other written form. Without expert assistance our descriptive catalogers could not read the title page and distinguish among author, title, publisher, and any other notation that should appear on the printed card.

The publishers lent what help they could. In Malawi we were assisted by the National Archives at Zomba for books in Nyanja and Tumbuka. But then the Nyanja of next-door Zambia was different, and so it went. The Nairobi center had taken the initiative in seeking to solve the problem, but there was much more to be done when I left. A happy solution was reached in 1969, when an agreement was concluded between the librarian of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the field director of the Nairobi center. The agreement provided that the school, which possesses one of the greatest concentrations of knowledge of the Bantu languages extant, would prepare data sheets for books in African vernacular languages that the staff of the Nairobi center could not translate. One copy of the data sheet is sent to Nairobi to be included in the *Accessions List: Eastern Africa*; another copy is sent with the publication to the Library of Congress, where processing is completed.

One leaves one post, one area of the world, for another with many misgivings. I believe the ties are especially close when one has started a new program and hired every member of the staff. Colleagues without whose joint efforts little would have been accomplished are left behind. Most difficult of all is to leave the program itself, one's own child, still toddling as it were. I thought the basic formula was right, although additions and deletions were required. It was really time, or almost time, to go. A child needs seasoning away from parents. The parent must relinquish his child to the close scrutiny and influence of the world.

AFRICAN LAW COLLECTIONS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

by Zuhair E. Jwaideh

The purpose of this article is to describe, in a very general way, the creation of the Near Eastern and African Law Division and the development of its African legal collections, excluding those relating to countries under Spanish and Portuguese rule.

The Near Eastern and African Law Division, for which Congress had made funds available in the appropriations for fiscal year 1960, was established in the Law Library in November 1959 to make accessible legal materials and information which the Congress and the other branches of the Government need in the performance of their functions. When the division was first proposed, it was pointed out that the Library already had some legal collections for the Near Eastern and African countries so that processing and reference service were needed as well as acquisition of new materials. Subsequent events have proved that the time was opportune for the establishment of the division. The rapid change in Africa now more than ever makes it necessary to continue and expand what was created 10 years ago so that the Government and people of the United States may have a better understanding of the legal systems of these countries, which usually reflect political trends.

In celebrating the end of the first decade since the establishment of the African Section in the

Reference Department and the Near Eastern and African Law Division, it seems fitting in this issue to review the accomplishments of these two organizations within the Library of Congress.

The development of the African legal collections is governed by the publication practices of the African countries. Important laws and regulations are published by the ministry of justice or the government printer, either under separate cover or as part of the official gazette or as an annual collection of laws. There are also several legal works and treatises published by private organizations or individuals that adhere very closely to the official texts and are accepted as primary sources of law. Consequently, African legal collections in the custody of this division may be classified as official or unofficial publications. Among the former are texts of laws and international agreements, the official gazettes, and other government publications. Privately published texts of laws and compilations of laws, digests, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and treatises are considered unofficial.

The African legal collections are very extensive,

Zuhair E. Jwaideh, Chief of the Near Eastern and African Law Division, wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Anton Wekerle and Peter C. Schanck in preparing this article.

even though these countries are still developing and some of them do not yet have publications that cover their legal systems completely.

To facilitate the description of legal sources that share common characteristics, the African countries have been divided into three geographical areas: the North African countries, including the United Arab Republic and the Sudan; the sub-Saharan French-speaking countries; and English-speaking countries, including Ethiopia and the Republic of South Africa.

The North African Countries

The ties between the Muslim Arabs and Africans date back many centuries. Actually, these ties existed even before the coming of Islam; they were based on trade relations that flourished between East Africa and Asia. The coastal states of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf were well-known seafaring nations which carried goods back and forth between the East and the West. The existence of Arab elements in Ethiopia and East Africa preceded the Islamic period, although contact between the Arabs and the Africans increased during the early years of the Islamic era. In 640, the Arab Muslim armies swept into Africa. As early as 681, they were in control of all of North Africa, bringing under Muslim rule Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and what is known today as the Maghreb: Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. Since Egypt had already been conquered, Islam as a religion triumphed almost completely in all of North Africa.

Muslim penetration also extended into the heart of Africa and thus was not restricted to the north and east. In the 11th century, Egyptian Muslim raiders reached Lake Chad. Sporadic raids were carried out as far into the continent as the Congo and the Great Lakes. Dedicated Muslim missionaries from North Africa accomplished the most important breakthrough of Islam in West Africa, spreading out of Mauritania to the south. In the 11th century, Timbuktu became a religious center and Islam spread to what is now known as the Mali Republic, Niger, and Nigeria.

Wherever sizable Muslim communities are found in Africa, Islamic law usually comprises a part of the legal system of that country. Generally speaking, legal systems for such countries consist of three components each independent of the

other, although at times they influence each other and make it difficult to draw clear demarcation lines. The North African countries, including the UAR, have in recent times experienced at least three types of legal systems: Ottoman, dominated by Islamic law; European, that is, French, Italian, or English; and, since their independence, a developing, indigenous legal system based primarily on Western-type legislation but influenced by Islamic and customary law.

The legal sources for the Ottoman period are nonexistent except as general sources of Islamic law, of which the Library of Congress has one of the best collections available anywhere; the European legal sources are available either as special enactments for the African territories or as part of the legislation of the European ruling country. The sources for the indigenous law comprising all current enactments of these countries are easily found in official and private publications.

The Sudan (except for its southern part) shares the characteristics of the North African countries as to religion, culture, and origin of its law in Islamic and customary law. Where the other North African countries have felt the strong influence of French law, however, Sudanese law has been greatly affected by the English common law.

The current major source of law for the North African countries is their official gazettes, which are published in Arabic and called *al-Jaridah al-Rasmiyah* in Morocco, Libya, and the UAR; in Tunisia the gazette is called *al-Ra'id al-Rasmi Lil Jumhuriyah al-Tunisiyah*. The Moroccan, Tunisian, and UAR gazettes are published weekly; the Libyan is irregular. The UAR has another Arabic source similar to the official gazette called *al-Waqai' al-Misriyah*, translated as the Official Bulletin. Algeria's official gazette, in French, is called *Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire*. In the Sudan the gazette is published in English and has a separate part devoted to legal material called *Legislative Supplement to the Republic of the Sudan Gazette*. Both the Algerian and the Sudanese gazettes are published weekly. These gazettes date back to the years preceding the independence of these countries.

Other important legal sources in these countries are the periodicals *Revue Algérienne des Sciences Juridiques, Economiques et Politiques*

in Algeria, *al-Qada' wa al-Tashri'* (The Judiciary and the Legislature) and *Nashriyat Mahkamat al-Ta'qib* (Decisions of the Supreme Court) in Tunisia, and *al-Muhamāt* (The Legal Profession), one of the oldest legal periodicals in Arabic, in the UAR. The Egyptian Court of Cassation publishes its decisions in *Majmu'at Ahkām al-Naqd* in two parts, one for criminal cases and the other for civil cases.

Other sources are the loose-leaf compilations of laws of these countries. Libya and the UAR have similar publications containing all the laws. The UAR is noteworthy for the large number of encyclopedias, compendiums, and compilations of laws pertaining to specific areas such as labor, insurance, and taxation.

The Library possesses other valuable legal publications in Western languages for these countries, especially for the period before their independence. As a rule early legislation for Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia is found in the Library's French sources. All laws, ordinances, decrees, and ministerial orders were published in the *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, except the *Journal Officiel d'Algérie*, which first appeared in 1927. In 1958 this publication was superseded by *Recueil des Actes Administratifs*, and in 1962 its name was changed to *Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire*. The *Bulletin Officiel de Maroc* has been published since 1912 and the *Journal Officiel Tunisien* since 1883.

The Library also has a loose-leaf collection of codes, statutes, and other enactments for Algeria published from 1830 to 1962 under the title *Jurisclasser Algérien*. Another valuable title is *Code de l'Algérie Annoté*, which includes laws, regulations, ordinances, and decrees in force between 1830 and 1905; a supplement continued it from 1940 to 1955. A special publication appearing during the period of French rule in Algeria and Tunisia was concerned with the decisions of the courts of these two countries and was known as *Répertoire Tilloy*.

Valuable for the period 1830-76 is *Jurisprudence Algérienne*, published in four volumes, which reported the decisions of the High Court of Algeria. Another title, *Revue Algérienne, Tunisienne et Marocaine de Législation et de Jurisprudence*, published from 1885 to 1961 by the law faculty of the University of Algeria, cov-

ered all important laws, and other enactments, including court decisions, of the three countries. In 1964 the law faculty resumed the publication for Algeria only under the title *Revue Algérienne des Sciences Juridiques, Economiques et Politiques*, previously mentioned.

In Morocco, in addition to the *Bulletin Officiel du Maroc*, which has existed as a weekly publication since 1912, *Les Codes Marocains* has been published since 1952 in six loose-leaf volumes containing all laws and regulations in force and summaries of court decisions. Another publication that covers all legislation in force between 1912 and 1918 is entitled *Codes et Lois en Vigueur dans le Protectorat Français du Maroc. Traités, Codes et Lois du Maroc*, published in three volumes between 1923 and 1925 and kept up to date until 1939 by yearly supplements, is also among the Moroccan collections. Morocco's legislation in general and important decisions of its High Court were published between 1912 and 1931 in *Recueil de Législation et de Jurisprudence Marocaines*. From 1921 until 1961 the law faculty of the University of Rabat published the decisions of the High Court in *Recueil des Arrêts de la Cour d'Appel de Rabat*, since then in *Recueil des Arrêts de la Cour Suprême*.

Among the oldest compilations of laws of the North African countries is *Législation de la Tunisie*, which with its supplements covers the period from 1888 to 1896 and contains enactments not available in other sources. Another early publication was *Code Annoté de la Tunisie*, with its supplements containing all legislation in force between 1901 and 1908. Many years elapsed without any titles of importance being published. In 1947 a new loose-leaf publication was started in Tunisia under the title *Recueil Général et Pratique de Législation Tunisienne*, which now covers 1846-1951 in five volumes.

In 1966 the Tunisian Ministry of Justice published a valuable volume entitled *La Justice Dix Ans Après*. It contains important laws, regulations, and enactments passed by the Tunisian national legislature between 1956 and 1966.

The Library's legal collections for Egypt and, later on, for the UAR in Arabic and in Western languages are very extensive. The Western language material dates back to 1876, as a publication entitled *Répertoire de la Législation et de*

l'Administration Egyptienne was begun in 1888, covering the period from 1876 to 1896. Another publication, started in 1876, covers the years from 1876 to 1903 in 25 volumes entitled *Bulletin des Lois et Décrets—Recueil de Tous Documents Officiels*. The first issue of the *Gazette des Tribunaux Mixtes d'Egypte* was dated November 10, 1910; it was continued until the Mixed Courts were abolished in 1944. An accompanying weekly, *Journal des Tribunaux Mixtes*, also was discontinued in 1944. The period between 1903 and 1939 was covered by a publication entitled *Lois du Gouvernement Egyptien* until 1927, when its name was changed to *Recueil des Lois, Décrets et Rescrits Royaux*. One of the most useful French publications for the non-Arabic reader is the *Répertoire Permanent de Législation Egyptienne*, in nine looseleaf volumes beginning with 1956. It covers all laws, regulations, decrees, and presidential and ministerial orders and notices—in short, all legislative and administrative acts now in force that were promulgated before or after the UAR Government came into being.

The Sudan and Libya are in a similar position in respect to their two major legal publications. Libya has an official gazette and a compilation of laws published in eight volumes in looseleaf form. The latter has not been kept up to date since it was first published in 1966. Both of these Libyan publications are in Arabic. On the other hand, the *Sudanese Legislative Supplement to the Republic of the Sudan Gazette* and *The Laws of the Sudan* are in English. *The Legislative Supplement* was begun in 1899 and has been continued to the present day. *The Laws of the Sudan* were published for the first time in 1899; the last revised edition (the fourth) of 11 volumes appeared in 1956 and covers all laws, enactments, ordinances, and regulations up to July 15, 1956. In that year the faculty of law of the University of Khartoum started two English periodicals entitled *Law Reports* and *The Sudan Law Journal and Reports*, covering cases decided since 1900 in the Sudanese courts.

The French-Speaking Sub-Saharan Countries

The countries to be considered in this section include 18 newly independent states of French and Belgian heritage together with Somalia,

made up of a former Italian colony and a former British colony. This grouping of countries is based upon the fact that their legal system is predominantly derived from the continental or civil law system of France, Belgium, or Italy, as it was transplanted from these countries to their former colonial territories.

In the evolution of law in these countries, three types can be distinguished: precolonial, colonial, and sovereign. Since precolonial law was a customary law, transmitted orally, written sources are practically nonexistent. When Africa came into contact with Europe, Western law was superimposed on the local or tribal law. Although deeply influenced by the continental system and based on statutes, colonial law retained some of the features of religious and customary law. Legislation enacted since independence has tended to reduce the role of customary law.

The states whose legal systems are influenced by the French law are the eight formed from former French West Africa—Dahomey, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta; the four from former French Equatorial Africa—the Central African Republic, Chad, the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), and Gabon; the Malagasy Republic; and Togo and Cameroon, which had been mandates or trusteeship territories. After its independence was achieved, the Trusteeship Territory of French Cameroon was joined with the British Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon. All the countries formerly administered by France gained full independence in 1960 except Guinea, which had gained it two years before.

Political independence was accompanied by an independent system of law. Part of the legislation of colonial origin is still in force, however, since the governments of the newly independent states have not disrupted the existing legal order. Their constitutions expressly state that existing legislation shall remain in force if it does not conflict with the new fundamental laws and is not modified or repealed.

It is a general principle that before a law becomes official it has to be published in the official gazette. In all African states with a continental legal system, the most important primary source of law is the *Journal Officiel* or official gazette.

For the colonial period, the Library of Congress has a complete microfilm set of the *Journal Officiel* for French West Africa (1895-1959), French Equatorial Africa (1910-59), Dahomey (1894-1916), Guinea (1903-13), the Ivory Coast (1895-1911, 1948-58), Mali (1921-42, 1953-58), and Upper Volta (1919-57). Bound sets of the gazettes are available for the remaining colonial years and for the period of independence. There are approximately 400 bound volumes for the countries that had been administered by France.

Some of the official gazettes of these countries are published in more than one part. One part is devoted exclusively to laws, decree-laws, ordinances, and executive orders arranged in a chronological sequence. The other two parts are reserved for legal and business announcements.

Supplementing the gazettes of many of these countries is a compilation by the Overseas Ministry of France entitled *Juris-classeur de la France d'Outre-mer, Afrique du Nord Exceptée* (Paris, 1948), a 15-volume set, covering codes, laws, decrees, and administrative documents from 1670 to 1946. It was subsequently updated to 1960.

For Cameroon an official compilation of laws in force, arranged by subjects, has been published in five volumes under the title *Codes et Lois du Cameroun* (1956-58).

The former protectorate and territory of Madagascar, now the Malagasy Republic, enjoyed a separate status, since it had never been a part of the French Equatorial or French West African Federation. This accounts for the early promulgation of the *Code des 305 Articles Promulgué le 29 Mars 1881* (Tananarive, 1900). Malagasy also has a recent official compilation, *Recueil des Textes Constitutionnels, Législatifs et Réglementaires de la République Malgache* (Tananarive, 1962-), which has been published in eight volumes covering the period from 1789 through 1968. The material is arranged chronologically, and there is an excellent subject index. The publication of another collection has begun under the title *Les Codes Bleus Malgaches* (Tananarive, 1962-). The volumes by individual authors treat such subjects as constitutional and organic laws, civil law and procedure, and administrative law.

A recent compilation of current legislation arranged by subject matter is being published by

the Islamic Republic of Mauritania as *Recueil des Lois et Règlements* (Bordeaux, 1961-). Three volumes have thus far appeared in print.

A single-volume collection of the Mali Ministry of Justice, *La Justice en République du Mali* (1965-), printed in Moscow, includes several procedural codes as well as nationality and domestic relations laws.

The *Coutumiers Juridiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* (Paris, 1939), a three-volume set, presents comprehensively the customary law of Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and Guinea, all member states of the former French West Africa.

The best known legal periodical, covering both legislation and court decisions in African countries, is the *Recueil Penant*, founded in 1891.

The subjects of taxation and business corporations are treated in a loose-leaf collection, *Fiscalité Africaine* (Paris), available in the Law Library since 1968. Coverage is limited to former French West Africa, Togo, Central Africa, and the Malagasy Republic.

Current legislation and court decisions of the Ivory Coast are contained in the *Bulletin de la Cour Suprême de Côte d'Ivoire*, published in Abidjan (1963-). Quarterly supplements include current legislation.

Belgian law has influenced the legal systems of the territory of the former Belgian Congo, now Congo (Kinshasa), and of the former mandates of Ruanda-Urundi, now Burundi and Rwanda. From 1885 until 1907 the Congo was administered by the King of the Belgians as the Free State of the Congo. It became a colony in 1907 and was known as the Belgian Congo until independence was achieved in 1960.

The legal collections of the Congo (Kinshasa) are very extensive—the most voluminous in the Law Library for any one country in French-speaking Africa. During the period of the Free State of the Congo, authority was exercised through royal decrees and local ordinances. Belgian law was not transplanted but served as a model for territorial legislation, which was published in Brussels in seven volumes of the *Recueil Usuel de la Législation* for the years 1876-1911. Another important two-volume legal compilation, covering the years 1890-1910, is entitled *Jurisprudence de l'Etat Independent du Congo*.

The Belgian Congo's laws appeared after 1908

as *Codes et Lois du Congo Belge, Textes Annotés d'après les Rapports du Conseil Colonial, les Instructions Officiels et la Jurisprudence des Tribunaux*, 3d rev. ed. (Brussels, 1927), also known as *Code Louwers*. Subsequent editions, through the eighth (in three volumes), were known as *Codes Louwers-Struven* and extended coverage to 1960. They comprise an annotated, systematic collection of all laws and orders in force in the Congo, arranged by subject and provided with a chronological and subject index. The early editions include the text of the substantive and procedural codes; recent editions contain social and economic laws as well. The collection also includes legislation for Ruanda-Urundi.

For the colonial period, the law reports were collected in the *Répertoire Général de la Jurisprudence Congolaise*, covering the years 1890–1934 and 1940–49. A basic source for judicial decisions and legislation is the *Revue Juridique du Congo* (Library of Congress holdings begin with the year 1929), a law periodical which since 1925 has also contained material regarding Ruanda-Urundi.

After independence the *Moniteur Congolais*, published in Kinshasa since 1960, became the primary source for all legislation.

Burundi and Rwanda, former territories of German East Africa, were united in 1916 to become Ruanda-Urundi. In 1924 they were administratively united with the Belgian Congo but still had some autonomy. Thus, Belgian, Congolese, and local legislation as published from 1924 to 1962 in the official gazette, the *Bulletin Officiel du Ruanda-Urundi*, was applicable in that territory. It was granted independence in 1962 as two separate countries. All their government acts, laws, and regulations have been published since then in the *Bulletin Officiel du Burundi*, in French and Kirundi, and in the *Journal Officiel of Rwanda* in French and Kinyarwanda.

Court decisions and customary law after independence were published in the *Revue Juridique de Droit Écrit et Droit Coutumier du Rwanda et du Burundi* until the last quarter of 1967, when it became the *Revue Administrative et Juridique du Burundi*.

Present-day Somalia came into existence by the fusion of Italian Somalia with British Somaliland in 1960. Hence there has been British influence on the predominantly Italian legal system.

For the early period of Italian administration, the Law Library does not have any systematic collection of laws in force in Somalia. During the period of Italian trusteeship, the official gazette was the *Bolletino Ufficiale dell'Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia* (1950–60). Current enactments since 1960 have been published in the *Bolletino Ufficiale della Repubblica Somalia*, issued monthly with numerous supplements. Part 1 contains laws and decrees and part 2 public notices and proclamations.

The act of union expressly provides that the laws of British and Italian Somaliland shall remain in force subject to any future law. British legislation of the preindependence era is available in *The Laws of the Somaliland Protectorate, Containing Ordinances, Orders in Council, and Orders of the Secretary of State in Force on the 1st Day of January, 1950*, published in London, in three volumes. Session laws were published in the series *Laws Enacted*, from 1950 to 1960.

Legislation of the period of British administration was also published in *The Somaliland Protectorate Gazette* (1941–60), available in 10 volumes and accompanied by supplements.

English-Speaking Africa

With the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, the written laws and legal systems of English-speaking Africa were developed by British officials during their long reign over much of the continent. In the 19th and early 20th centuries Great Britain occupied areas where peoples were governed by their own unwritten customary law and imposed the English common law system as the official corpus of law. Customary law, however, was allowed to remain in use where it was not inconsistent with local legislation or contrary to "natural justice, equity and good conscience."

Because of their common position as subjects of the crown, three of the English-speaking countries discussed in this article, South Africa, Nigeria, and Uganda, produced legal materials displaying not altogether unexpected similarities. Each had an official gazette, annual session laws, and sets of compiled or revised statutes, all in nearly identical form, and some had court reports, which were frequently combined into regional reports. This is also true of those English-

speaking countries not separately treated: Botswana, the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Rhodesia, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Zambia. For purposes of this report, Nigeria and Uganda are taken to be representative of the former British colonies; the inclusion of others would be merely repetitious.

Upon attaining independence all these nations provided expressly for the continuation in force of all existing laws that were not inconsistent with their constitutions. Nevertheless, both immediately before and after independence, the form and content of their laws began to show more national variances, perhaps in response to increasing nationalist sentiment. In recent years, African legislators, lawyers, and scholars have been devoting more attention to their customary laws and have also attempted to adapt existing Western-oriented laws to the specific conditions of their countries.

Two series have been begun recently which give valuable coverage to the law of English-speaking Africa. The London School of Oriental and African Studies established the Restatement of African Law Project in 1959 in an attempt to produce comprehensive analyses by lawyers in legal language of the customary laws of Africa for use by courts, lawyers, and scholars. A great deal of research and field work has been done and the first two volumes on Kenya in the projected series have been published: *The Law of Marriage and Divorce* (1968) and *The Law of Succession* (1969), both by Eugene Cotran.

Of perhaps more direct benefit to users of the Library of Congress is the series issued by Oceana Publications, *The African Law Reports*. At this time two valuable sets in this series have been added to the Library's collections: the *Commercial Law Series* and the *Malawi Series*, each in two volumes. In addition, the recently published Sierra Leone reports will soon be in the Library's collections.

South Africa was first settled by the Dutch in 1652 and remained under the influence of Roman-Dutch law until it was colonized by the British in the 19th century. The country now has a dual legal system. Its positive law is predominantly English in character and its common law Roman-Dutch.

Having had a relatively large European population for several hundred years and having had a

degree of independence since 1910, South Africa has naturally developed legal materials of considerable scope and quality. In sheer quantity they far surpass those of any other sub-Saharan country in the Library's collections.

As is the case with other African nations, a gazette is the primary source of law. Acts of the legislature and regulations of the executive and administrative agencies become official when published in the *Republic of South Africa Government Gazette*, which appears weekly in Afrikaans and English—the two official languages of the country—with “extraordinary” issues when necessary. In each issue the laws and regulations usually follow various kinds of official government notices. The provinces, whose governments have considerable authority under the federal system, publish their laws, each province in its own official gazette. The Cape gazette has been appearing since early in the 19th century and the others since the 1850's.

The second official source of laws in South Africa, and to lawyers perhaps the most useful, is the compiled *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, Classified and Annotated*. This set consists of 21 massive volumes of loose-leaf materials containing all the Republic's acts in force (not subsidiary legislation such as regulations and orders), compiled according to subject and annotated in detail. The work commenced in 1968 and is supplemented annually to maintain an up-to-date record of the law for the central government. Also issued annually as part of this set is a supplementary booklet, unique on the continent, entitled *Wording of Sections, Subsections, etc. of Unrepealed Acts Prior to Amendment*.

The provinces of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and Transvaal also publish loose-leaf editions of their laws, but these do not attempt to be complete and are not annotated.

The central government and provinces also issue unannotated annual volumes of the statutes enacted by their respective parliaments, sometimes referred to as session laws.

Still in the legislative field, for specialists in particular categories, the Lex-Patria Publishing Company has been issuing a number of loose-leaf volumes for both the central government and the provinces, each containing a single act or group of related acts and all the regulations thereunder. Examples of these are *The Com-*

panies Act (1966-), *The Food, Drugs and Disinfectant Act* (1966-), and *The Liquor Laws and Regulation of South Africa* (1967-).

Although there are a number of court reports published regularly in South Africa, unquestionably the most important is *The South African Law Reports* (1910-), containing all the decisions of the Supreme Court of South Africa (including South-West Africa) and the High Court of Rhodesia. These law reports are the fundamental law of the land after the parliamentary acts themselves.

The Supreme Court actually consists of several courts in one. The Appellate Division of the Court is comparable to a national Supreme Court, and there are separate divisions for the provinces which function as the highest court for each.

There is one outstanding digest system for case law in South Africa: Bisset and Smith's *Digest of South African Case Law Containing the Reported Decisions of the Superior Courts*, which is published annually. The series covers court decisions reported in *The South African Law Reports* as well as some appearing elsewhere. In the past there have been occasional consolidated editions, but for some years now, unfortunately for users, it has only been issued annually.

After South Africa, the most comprehensive collection in the Law Library for one country is that for Nigeria, the most populous of all African nations. The British published a great deal concerning Nigerian law before independence in 1960, and the Nigerian Government, including the regions of states, has continued the practice. Since the advent of the Civil War in 1967, however, production of legal literature and particularly of primary source materials has diminished precipitously.

The basic source of Nigerian laws is, of course, the *Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette*. In most respects the gazette resembles its South African counterpart, except that principal legislation, known as decrees (Nigeria is governed by a military council, Parliament having been abolished), and subsidiary legislation are in separate supplements. On May 27, 1967, Nigeria's four states (formerly regions) were divided into 12 states; the Western and Mid-Western states remained intact. Each state now publishes its own gazette employing essentially the same format.

There are three compilations of statutes that serve as fundamental legal tools for Nigeria. The central government laws were published in the *Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos in Force on the 1st Day of June, 1958* (rev. ed.). This is an 11-volume set of the statutes, subsidiary legislation, imperial acts, and royal orders in council applying to Nigeria.

Similar sets of revised statutes were compiled for the former regions of Northern (1963) and Western (1959) Nigeria. Except insofar as they have been expressly repealed or amended, however, the laws are still in force in the many Northern states and the West. The federal government also regularly issued annual session laws, as did the four states until their demise.

In the area of case law in Nigeria, the more important decisions from 1881 to 1955 were printed in the official government publication known simply as *Law Reports*. These included decisions from all courts but excluded cases decided by the West African Court of Appeal. Decisions of the latter were compiled in *Selected Judgements of the West African Court of Appeal*, and later in *The West African Law Reports*, covering cases from Ghana, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Cameroon, as well as Nigeria. When Nigeria withdrew from the West African Court in 1955, the Federal Supreme Court of Nigeria became the nation's highest judicial tribunal. The latter's decisions were reported in *Selected Judgements of the Federal Supreme Court of Nigeria* (1956-).

At present the most comprehensive set of reports is *The Nigerian Monthly Law Reports* (1964-), which includes opinions of the Supreme Court (Federal), Court of Appeal Western State, and the High Courts of Nigeria.

The production of primary legal source material in and concerning Nigeria is more or less typical of the other former British colonies. What is unusual about Nigeria as a developing nation is the extraordinary number of treatises and texts concerning its laws that have appeared since independence. The Law Library has received 48 works of that nature published in the past 10 years. This output places Nigeria in a class with several of the industrially advanced, longstanding Commonwealth member nations.

Uganda, an East African nation that achieved independence in 1962, has an outstanding set of

compiled legislation. The 16-volume *Laws of Uganda (in Force on 31st December, 1964)* (rev. ed.) includes all the principal and subsidiary legislation in effect. Uganda also publishes separate annual volumes of comparable material.

The Law Library has no court reports for Uganda after 1956, but, like the other East African countries of Kenya and Tanzania (Tanzania issues law reports as a supplement to its gazette), Uganda relies upon the comprehensive *East Africa Law Reports* for its case law. This publication, formerly the *Eastern Africa Law Reports*, 1957-67, and *Her Majesty's Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa Law Reports*, 1934-56, contains the decisions of the Privy Council, the Court of Appeals for East Africa, and the highest court for each country.

Ethiopia is not, strictly speaking, an English-language country, but English is a second, quasi-official language after Amharic, the official language. Ethiopia has been independent since its inception as a nation (except for the Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941) and has never had particularly close ties to another nation. Its laws and legal institutions, therefore, are an amalgam of various strains, including customary law with a distinct early Christian element. In general its substantive law is based on the civil codes of Europe and its procedural law on Anglo-American common law. In recent years American, and to a lesser extent, European lawyers have filled most of the law faculty positions in the Haile Selassie I University. As a consequence, most contemporary commentaries on Ethiopian laws have been written by Americans. This influence has not been evident in the law-making sector to the same extent.

The *Negarit Gazeta*, the Ethiopian Government gazette, is the official source for all proclamations, Parliamentary enactments, executive decrees and orders, and administrative legal notices. As with the other African countries, the laws usually take effect upon publication in the gazette. Several of the European-style codes, which form a substantial part of Ethiopian legislation, have been reprinted from the *Negarit Gazeta* and are in the Law Library's collections as monographs. These include the commercial, criminal procedure, and penal codes. French publishers have also issued some of the codes, e.g., civil and commercial, in more elaborate editions.

Decisions of the courts in Ethiopia are frequently rendered without opinions, and even where opinions have been written, they have seldom been published. The *Journal of Ethiopian Law*, edited by the law faculty of Haile Selassie I University, in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice, has recently moved to fill this void by collecting and publishing in its pages a small section of appellate decisions in English and Amharic.

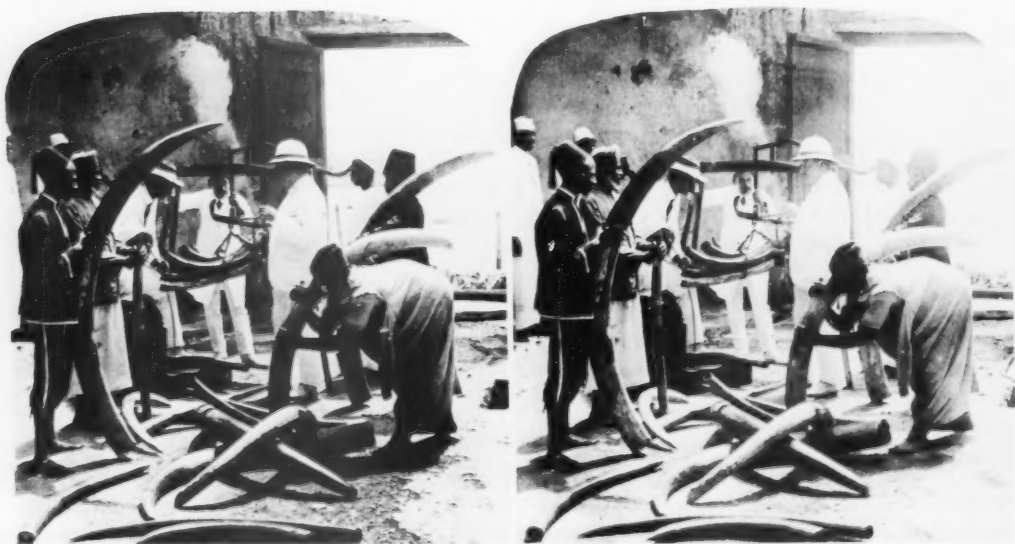
Liberia was established first as a colony of freed American slaves in 1822 by several American philanthropic societies. In 1847 it became an independent republic. The influence of American legal institutions and concepts has quite naturally been predominant ever since, but Liberia has in no sense slavishly imitated the American way. At the nation's inception, the applicable law was to be "(a) the rules adopted for chancery proceedings in England and, (b) the common law and usages of the courts of England and the United States of America, as set forth in case law and in Blackstone's and Kent's *Commentaries* and in other authoritative treatises and digests."

The Liberian Codification Project, Cornell University, has been responsible for most of the legal material published in Liberia during recent years. Its five-volume *Liberian Code of Laws of 1956* was the first codification of Liberian law. The project has also issued 16 volumes of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Liberia, covering cases from 1861 through 1964. The first volume was originally published in 1908 and the second in 1947 by commercial firms. Volumes 3 to 16 were prepared by the project and published by Cornell.

This concludes the brief and general description of the African legal collections in the custody of the Near Eastern and African Law Division. At its inception, the division had no staff and no collections except what was scattered between other divisions of the Law Library and the Near East Section of the Orientalia Division. Immediately after its establishment, 4,721 volumes were transferred from the Near East Section. During the past 10 years, the collections of the division have increased to approximately 85,000 pieces and the staff to seven employees, including the Chief.



AFRICA THROUGH THE EYE



Top, native water sellers ply their trade at the railway station, Beaconsfield, South Africa.

Bottom, ivory from the interior is weighed for the customer in Mombasa, East Africa (now Kenya).



OF A CAMERA *by Milton Kaplan*



Top, fish (snook) boats arrive at Capetown, South Africa. In the distance is Devil's Peak.

Bottom, workers follow the compressed air drill in a gold mine in Johannesburg, South Africa.

From the 1870's through the first three decades of the 20th century, the stereograph, which brought a three-dimensional view of the outside world into America's living rooms, was a popular product with the picture-buying public. Stereograph companies were formed to capitalize on this interest, and photographers were assigned to cover people, places, and events, not only in the United States but all over the world. Much of the work they produced was deposited for copyright in the Library of Congress. Of the approximately 250,000 stereograph cards in the collection, about 2,600 are devoted to Africa.

In 1888 Frank George Carpenter, American journalist, traveler, and author, accompanied by his wife, began the first of many trips to foreign countries. Extending over a period of 30 years, these travels resulted in many syndicated articles which appeared in American newspapers and in more than 80 books. In 1905 *Africa*, the first of Carpenter's books on the "dark continent," was published, followed in 1923 by *From Tangier to Tripoli* and *Cairo to Kisumu* and in 1924 by *Uganda to the Cape*. *Africa* was reissued in 1916, 1924, 1928, and 1929. To illustrate his books Carpenter not only took his own photographs but



Portraits of Liberian officials and photographs, drawings, and prints of life in Liberia and other parts of West Africa can be found in the collection of the American Colonization Society. The U.S. Navy expedition to observe the 1889 solar eclipse from Africa, the trip to Ethiopia in the 1920's by the famed husband and wife team of Martin and Osa Johnson, Kenyan life as recorded by the Kenya Information Service, African sculpture—these are just a few of the more than 60 different collections of pictures which provide source material for the study of Africa.

collected many others, such as a large group of gold-toned albumen prints, taken by local commercial firms operating in the countries he visited. The result was a superb visual record of these countries and continents. With the emphasis on the inhabitants, their daily life, and their environment, the Carpenter collection, which was presented to the Library of Congress in 1951 by his daughter, provides one of the important sources for the study of Africa in the Prints and Photographs Division.

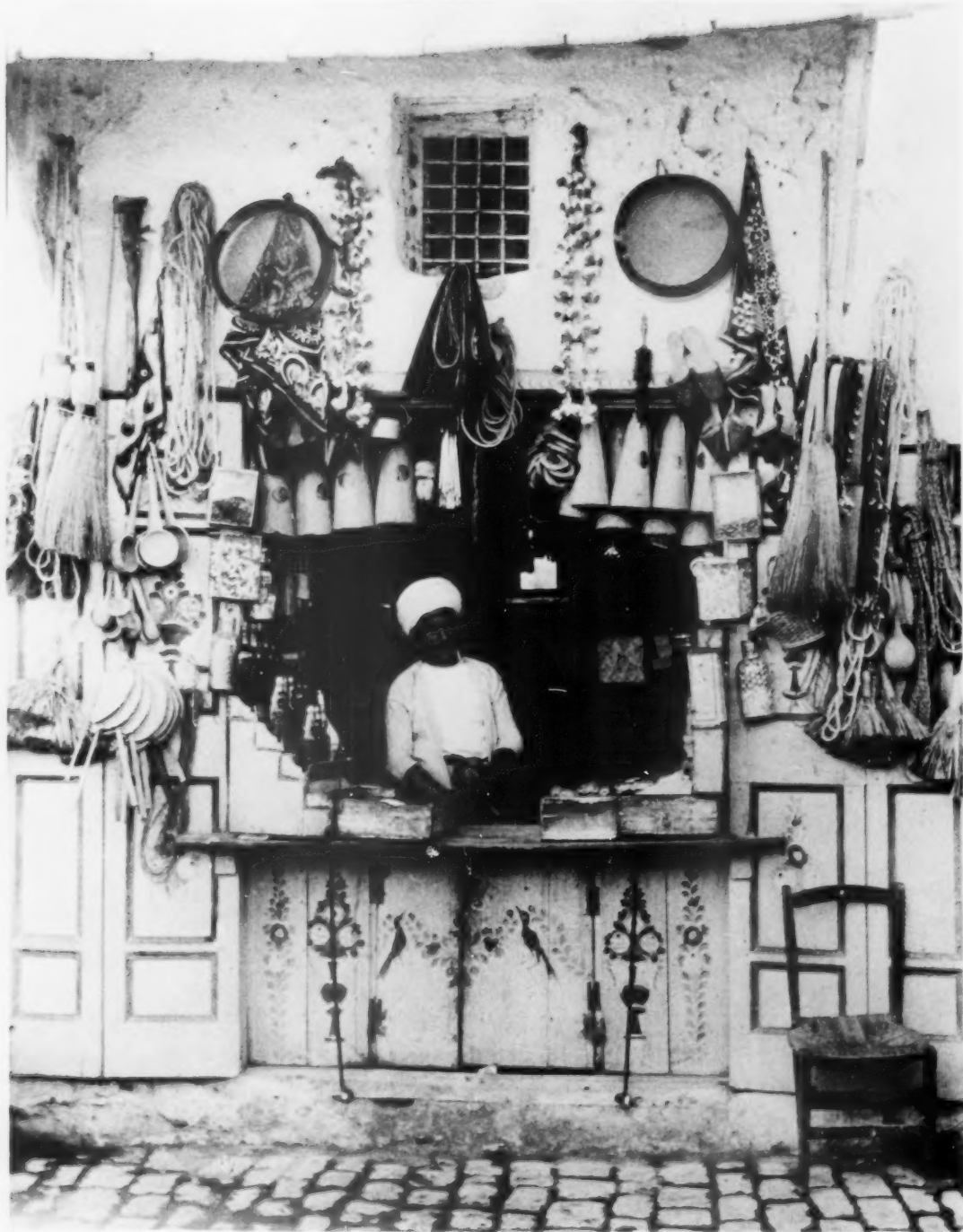
Milton Kaplan is Curator of Historical Prints in the Prints and Photographs Division.

The series of photographs beginning on this page is from the Carpenter collection. The accompanying quotations are taken from his books.

Left, " . . . far out on the desert, moving slowly along in a great caravan, bound southward through the central Sahara. At the front, on fast, racing camels, are the chiefs of the tribes which make up the caravan. . . . Behind are the freight camels, scarred, dingy, and sullen."

Feluccas on the Nile.







Facing page, "The street [in the bazaar in Fez] is narrow, and facing it are boxlike stores. . . . Each man has his own kind of wares."

"An Arab barber is a rough-and-ready worker, using only water and no soap when shaving the heads of the victims."

Below, a porter of Tunis.

"Many of the natives still store their wheat in great baskets beautifully woven by the patient hands of old men."



"The children of the oasis . . . all sit on the floor and study out loud. Instead of slates they have tablets of tin and wood, and they use brushes and ink in writing their letters."



*"We find mosques in the larger oases, and observe that the
Arabs of our caravan say their prayers five times a day."*







Cliff dwellings in Tunis.



Left, "The vaulted bazaars of Tunis are flanked with marble columns from Carthage, which the Arabs have painted over in red, yellow, and green stripes, so that they look like barber poles."

Facing page, top, a village in Senegal.

Facing page, bottom, "Among the nomadic Bedouins women do most of the work, grinding grain between round stones and weaving the tents of camels' hair or wool."

Facing page, "The fanatical dervishes keep the Moslems stirred up with their talk of a combination of the Faithful of the world under the green flag of the Jihad, or Holy War, against their Christian conquerors."

Right, "The Ouled Nails are to be found in every oasis and there is a whole street given up to them in Biskra, the so-called Paris of the Sahara. They are . . . much like the Nautch girls of India, the Ghawazi of Egypt, or the Geishas of Japan."



Above, a camel driver of Sinai.



Right, a village chief.







Facing page, "In parts of Algeria the Tuareg desert policeman on his mehari is replaced by the Spahi mounted on a swift Arab horse. This one is on duty near Kairouan."

Left, "Fellahs . . . are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians mixed with the various races which have conquered the country. Many of them own their farms, little patches often no larger than our village gardens. Others work as farm hands on the estates of rich landowners."

"Where ploughs are used, they are just the same as those of five thousand years ago. . . . The average plough consists of a pole about six feet long fastened to a piece of wood bent inward at an acute angle. The end piece, which is shod with iron, does the ploughing."





"The Jewish cemeteries [in Tunis] . . . have no tall monuments. The vaults, which are dug out so that their tops rest even with the surface of the earth, are covered with marble slabs of the same size and height, so that the whole surface of the cemetery appears to be one great marble floor. When the women go out to mourn, they sit down on the slabs over their dead and bob up and down as they wail out their grief."

Young Moroccan Jewesses.

Right, "In addition to the usual Mohammedan veils the wealthy ladies of Tunis also cover their heads with long embroidered scarfs, which they hold out far enough to enable them to watch their steps."



When I was much younger, long before I had ever met anyone from Africa or really knew much about it, I used to find that the shape of the continent on a globe reminded me of a keyhole. Perhaps this was because of the many references to its great potentials, at least in the eyes of many non-Africans, waiting to be explored and unlocked. This somewhat naive metaphor was recalled to me recently as I examined the letters from Alan Paton, the South African novelist, to Irita Van Doren, the late literary editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, which are in her papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. However, in this context the keyhole image took on a different meaning for me, one that suggests the view—at first narrow but then expanding—which we get of another man's world through such interesting letters as these. Through the keyhole of Paton's eye there are provided sometimes dramatic insights into his South Africa, and they come more directly and meaningfully than they might any other way, even if one is only somewhat familiar with Paton's political and literary career, his involvement in the world he finds himself living in, and what he stands for.

Having been a special fan of Paton since his *Too Late the Phalarope* relieved so well for me the tedium of a troopship, I was especially interested in letters from him. The Van Doren papers do not contain many (only 15), but not many letters of this sort are required to make one aware of the special privilege which they provide. They are all from Natal, with two exceptions, and span the decade 1951–61, important years in both South Africa and the United States for that aspect of society which interests Paton so much: the relations between peoples of different racial and cultural backgrounds. The letters vary in length, from four lines to almost four pages. What can be learned from these personal letters seems to fall into three interrelated categories.

First, there is confirmed that Paton the man, the human being, is as kind, gentle, and concerned for others as his fiction and what one has read about him suggest. Typically, the letters show concern for others or efforts to help them—

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THROUGH THE KEYHOLE

ALAN
PATON
TO
IRITA
VAN
DOREN

by

Julian Mason



Irita van Doren
from Alan Paton
1950

From the Irita Van Doren papers.



David Lilienthal, Irita Van Doren, and Alan Paton at the New York Herald Tribune's Book and Author Luncheon on October 25, 1949. Paton's novel Cry, the Beloved Country had been published in 1948. Photograph by Fred Stein, from the Irita Van Doren papers.

e.g., Mrs. Van Doren; a young South African newsman; a friend, secretary of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, who is going to visit New York and has a tendency to become extremely lonely there; a young South African girl who is in moral conflict with the world in which she lives; a friend who may have felt slighted by Paton; or his fellow writers (he will not review novels by living authors). In one letter he even apologizes for talking about himself for a few sentences.

Secondly, beyond the man himself, we learn much about what it is like to be an intelligent

and active person, a well-known writer and public figure, who cares what happens to society and finds himself at dangerously crucial odds with the government and much of the controlling society around him in a land he loves. In one letter he speaks of the erosion of humanity in all people, including himself, under such circumstances. Yet his humanity endures, and shines, and does not succumb to fear or selfishness even under his personal adversity as a cultural and political leader (for example, as National Chairman of the Liberal Party) confronted with governments changing more and more to favor what

he is against. He knows, and says, that he and his friends might be the first to suffer should violence break out. He is depressed by the thought of possibly not again seeing his American friends. His passport is canceled; he is given a summons for having addressed a public meeting. He complains that his government does not understand enough of history and what is going on elsewhere in the world but is obsessed by survival. He also shows that his patience is able to survive because he is aware of the complexity and depth of the problems. He quotes Schweitzer to the effect that he is pessimistic in what he knows but optimistic in what he does. So he goes on writing critically, but lovingly, of his land and its troubled people, knowing that his popularity at home will suffer. He becomes more entangled in activities to support his beliefs, saying that although he does not necessarily think what he does will change the course of events, it is still his duty to do it. The last line in the last letter assures Mrs. Van Doren that if anything should go wrong, his wife will let her know, if she can—and a chill went down my spine, which was not at all in keeping with the warmth and bravery so pervasive in his letters.

But as one stares through this fascinating keyhole and marvels at what he sees, he suddenly is startled to find that there is an eye on the other side too, staring back even more earnestly. The third thing one learns about Paton from these few letters also teaches one something of himself—not always flattering. Paton's interest is in all of humanity, and his visits to the United States have led him to like it and to be extremely interested in its problems of discrimination. On January 26, 1955, he writes that he is concerned about discrimination wherever it might be—South Africa; Birmingham, England; or Birmingham, U.S.A. (He isn't sure of the State but knows the American Birmingham to be west of Georgia, north of Florida, east of Texas, and south of the North Pole. He was writing to a native of the city in Alabama.) He is more interested in people than boundaries, and he seeks all

the information he can get about the progress or lack thereof regarding desegregation in the United States. Not all of his interest is nonpersonal, for he once confides that if he cannot see happen what he wants for South Africa, perhaps he can at least be pleased with the progress in the United States. At another time he complains that the activities of southern reactionary groups are encouraging similar groups in South Africa. Mrs. Van Doren gave him a most welcome subscription to the Southern Education Reporting Service's *Southern School News* so that he could have regular reports, and people all over the United States were writing to him and sending him "cuttings." He is pleased that his concerns are of interest and moral assistance to many in this country. At the end of his December 14, 1954, letter, this peaceful man in volatile South Africa hopes that the great transition facing the American South will be full of appropriate firmness but even more full of tact and understanding. For, as he had put it on September 30, 1952, "knowledge and truth come back at us with daggers when we shove them down into the dungeons of our minds." The experienced eye on the other side of the keyhole is full of wisdom and love.

It is not surprising that the letters of this fine writer are so revealing, even when giving relatively few hard facts; for the greatest teacher may be the human personality shaped by meaningful experience and keen insight. Paton himself seemed to know this when he sent Irita Van Doren a review praising John Gunther's book, *Inside Africa*. It began: "John Gunther knows more about Africa than I do, but in another sense, obviously, he cannot know as much. He has visited most of its 43 countries, I only eleven. But I have lived my life there." And much of the essence of that life is captured for us all in these 15 fragile letters.

The epistolary keyhole may be small, but through it a fascinating and humbling world may await us. In this case it does—the world of Alan Paton, courageous and persistent gentleman of South Africa.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

When Theodore Roosevelt decided, following his election to the Presidency in 1904, not to run again and began thinking of his future, he dreaded the thought of being an ex-President as thoroughly as he had once dreaded being a Vice President. He aired his views in a letter to his friend, Richard W. Gilder, then editor of the *Century Magazine*: "I do not think I can undertake reminiscences and I do not want to go around the world; and I won't be Mayor or Senator!"¹

Instead, it was Africa that attracted him, and when he realized that such a trip was possible he began making plans enthusiastically. He wrote to Sir George Otto Trevelyan, the British historian and his frequent correspondent, that his aim was "to visit the Pleistocene and the world 'as it lay in sunshine unworn of the plow'; to see the great beasts whose like our forefathers saw when they lived in caves."²

Roosevelt continually emphasized the scientific value of the proposed trip, though in the last nine months of his Presidency the volume of corres-

pondence with the great game hunters and rifle makers indicates no little interest in the hunt. On January 2, 1909, he wrote to Kaiser Wilhelm, in reply to a letter about hunting in the German portion of East Africa, that his trip to Africa would be taken partly as a big-game hunter, but primarily as a naturalist.

His preparation as a hunter-naturalist had begun early and was continuing; the post-Presidential trip would not be his first to Africa, nor his first big-game hunt, nor his first experience at scientific collecting. When he was nine, the initial entry in his diary, "August 10th Munday [sic], (1868.)," reveals his interest in bears, as he writes of a visitor's tale of an encounter with a brown bear in the Catskills, "not ten miles from here."³ In 1867 young Theodore and two cousins founded the Roosevelt Museum of Natural History, and in 1870 his father was one of the founders of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Before he was 11 he began taxidermy lessons with John G. Bell, who as a youth had accompanied Audubon on a collecting trip.⁴ In 1872-73 the Roosevelt family made its second long journey abroad. After a dreaded sea voyage—he was always seasick—they reached Africa on November 28, 1872, and his enthusiasm returned:

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HUNTER-NATURALIST ON SAFARI

by Kate M. Stewart

It was Egypt, the land of my dreams; Egypt the most ancient of all countries! A land that was old when Rome was bright, was old when Babylon was in its glory, was old when Troy was taken! It was a sight to awaken a thousand thoughts, and it did.⁶

As the party passed through the Delta of the Nile on the way to the Pyramids, he noted that "heards [sic] of buffaloes and zebus grazed quietly in the marshy fields."⁶

In one of the recent Roosevelt family collections presented to the Library by Mrs. William Sheffield Cowles, there is an agreement between Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., and Antonio Sopienze, "British Subject Dragoman," signed at Cairo on December 10, 1872.⁷ The details of the cost of a boat trip up the Nile were included; the dragoman was to provide everything except wines and liquors. The *Aboul Irdan* was a sort of houseboat called a dahabeah; young Roosevelt found it to be the "nicest, coziest, pleasantest little place you ever saw." From this trip he brought back between one and two hundred natural history specimens. Many years later, in 1913, he wrote in his *Autobiography* that he had given some of these early treasures to the Smithsonian Institution.⁸

In the college diaries presented to the Library several years ago by the President's daughter,

Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, there is much about his social life and "darling Alice," whom he later married. On August 18, 1879, however, he wrote:

I am thinking pretty seriously as to what I shall do when I leave College; I shall probably either pursue a scientific course, or else study law, preparatory to going into public life.⁹

Somehow he managed to enjoy all three careers, though the law was abandoned for politics and his further scientific knowledge was largely gained through reading. Although Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., friend of Abraham Lincoln and an ardent Republican, bequeathed many excellent qualities to his son, the youth's early interest in natural history and conservation seems to have come from his uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt, author of many books on these subjects.

In 1887 Theodore Roosevelt and his friend George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Forest and Stream*, organized the Boone and Crockett

From the Kermit Roosevelt collection in the Prints and Photographs Division.



Club,¹⁰ which had a limited membership of gentlemen who would be active in hunting, travel, and exploration, in the preservation of game, and in natural history observations. Throughout the years Roosevelt himself was being influenced by his reading and by his correspondence and association with other hunter-naturalists. On September 16, 1901, Ray Stannard Baker wrote to his father that he had seen President and Mrs. Roosevelt in Putnam's bookstore: "A few days before President McKinley was shot they went out loaded with books. He is a great reader, his especial hobby being books on big game hunting in every part of the world."¹¹

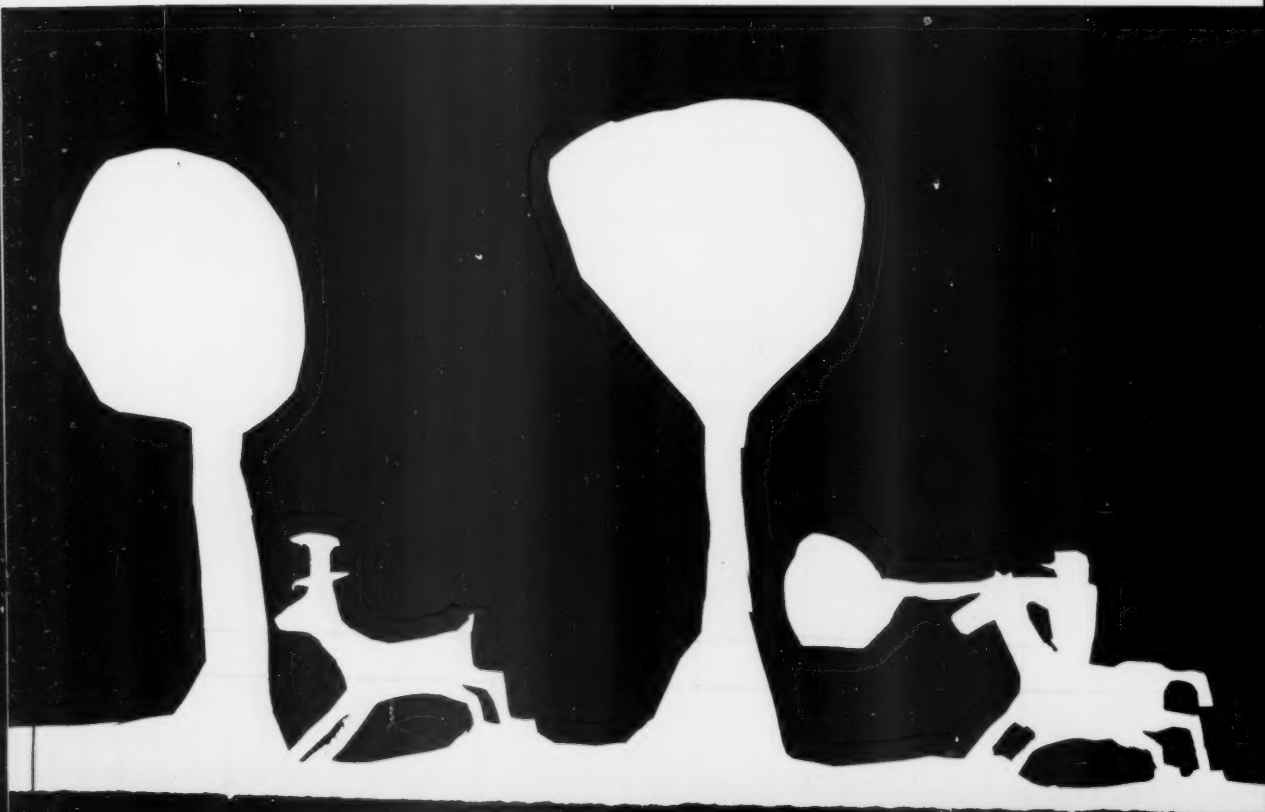
On February 11, 1904, an election year, President Roosevelt wrote to Leigh S. J. Hunt, an American who had become wealthy by introducing cotton planting in the Sudan:

I cannot say how absorbed I was in your account of that wonderful river voyage through a primeval world. Think of the 20th Century suddenly going back into the world as it was when the men of the unpolished stone period hunted the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros! My dear sir, when I get through this work, whether it is a year from now or five years from now, if I have the physical power and you still desire me, I shall most certainly accept for that trip into equatorial Africa.¹²

But he did not "get through his work" in a year; instead, he was reelected, this time as his party's Presidential candidate, and was unable to make a journey to Africa in 1905.

One of Roosevelt's delights in being in the White House was to entertain those who had hunted in Africa. One of these guests was Frederick C. Selous, a leader among African

That TR's love of hunting was instilled in his sons is suggested in this cutout by Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., from his papers in the Manuscript Division.



The volume containing the Selous inscription is part of the Hunting Library assembled by President Roosevelt and bequeathed to his youngest son, Kermit. He in turn left it to his son and namesake, who in 1963 presented it to the Library of Congress. The Hunting Library is in the Rare Book Division.

To Theodore Roosevelt
In grateful remembrance of
kind assistance from the
Author
F. C. Selous.

Worpleston
Turrey
England

April 21st
1908.

AFRICAN NATURE NOTES
AND REMINISCENCES

hunters, whose book *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* Roosevelt had read and reread soon after it was published in London in 1881. (Their correspondence in the Roosevelt papers in the Library of Congress extends from 1897 until Selous was killed in World War I in 1917.) On one visit to the White House in 1905, Selous told the President about some notes, "then consigned to the seclusion of a drawer in my study," on lions and other animals. The President asked to see them, and after reading them he immediately urged Selous to publish them. Roosevelt read and edited installments of the notes and, finally, the finished manuscript. When Selous sent the President a copy of *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (London, 1908) on April 21, 1908, he included "renewed thanks for all the kindly encouragement and practical assistance you gave me with my book." This absorption with Selous' notes and manuscript undoubtedly whetted an appetite which had been building up over the years. In the preface Selous spoke of President Roosevelt's possessing a "most comprehensive acquaintance with the habits of the fauna of the whole world, derived from the careful study of practically every book that has been written on the subject."

Once Roosevelt decided that a hunting trip to Africa was a proper activity for an ex-President, he began to make careful plans. Letters flowed from the White House to all those most familiar with big-game hunting in Africa. Presidential secretaries were particularly busy on March 20, 1908, when Roosevelt wrote to his old friend Selous for advice about where to hunt, guides, equipment, and the like. It was Selous and another hunter, Edward North Buxton, who wrote many letters and made the final arrangements for the trip to British East Africa, although special top-level considerations were obtained through Viscount Edward Grey, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, by Whitelaw Reid, American Ambassador there. A letter went forth to Col. John H. Patterson, hunter, writer, explorer, and chief game warden in British East Africa, stating that a year hence he would leave the Presidency and that he wanted to go to Africa: "I should like mightily to see the great African Fauna and to kill one or two rhino or buffalo and some of the big antelope with the chance of a shot at a lion." On the same day he wrote to Leigh Hunt, inviting him to come to lunch and give him advice about hunting in Africa.

Not unnaturally, the problem of paying for a long hunt for himself and his son Kermit prompted him to write to Robert Bridges, editor at Scribner's, on June 7, 1908:

Last fall you said that if I decided to go abroad on a hunt Scribner's would like to discuss with me the matter of my furnishing them the articles on the hunt. My expectation is to go to Africa a year hence and stay there perhaps ten months, and I would like to talk the matter over with you.¹³

Bridges lunched with him at Oyster Bay later in the month, when arrangements were discussed. By July 2 the President had received other, more profitable offers; he sent Bridges one of them, *McClure's* letter offering \$50,000, and said that he had no idea that his articles would be regarded as so valuable. Bridges immediately replied (July 3) matching *McClure's* offer: \$50,000 for eight to 12 articles with 20 percent royalty on the book he was to write.¹⁴

The President was to be employed by the *Outlook*, a weekly, after he left the White House, and he wrote to Robert Bridges on August 14, 1908, that he reserved the privilege of writing an occasional editorial for the *Outlook*: "Even in Africa, I shall sometimes think of other subjects than big game; I shall write nothing about my hunting trip except for you."¹⁵

Meanwhile, the idea of making the expedition for the Smithsonian Institution grew until the President wrote to Charles D. Walcott, Secretary, on June 20 suggesting the possibility. He also sent a copy of the letter to Elihu Root, his former Secretary of State and a friend of science:

About the first of April next I intend to start for Africa. My plans are of course indefinite, but at present I hope they will be something on the following order:

By May 1st I shall land at Mombasa and spend the next few months hunting and traveling in British and German East Africa; probably going thence to or toward Uganda, with the expectation of striking the Nile about the beginning of the new year, and then working down it, with side trips after animals . . . so as to come out at tidewater, say, about March 1st. This would give me ten months in Africa. As you know, I am not in the least a game butcher. I like to do a certain amount of hunting, but my real and main interest is the interest of a faunal naturalist. Now, it seems to me that this offers the best chance for the National Museum to get a fine collection not only of the big game beasts, but of the smaller mammals and birds of Africa; and looking at it dispassionately, I

believe that the chance ought not to be neglected. I will make arrangements to pay for the expenses of myself and my son. But what I would like to do would be to get one or two professional field taxidermists, field naturalists, to go with me, who should prepare and send back the specimens we collect. The collection which would thus go to the National Museum would be of unique value. . . . I have not the means that would enable me to pay for the one or two taxidermists and their kit, and the curing and transport of the specimens for the National Museum. But as I say, I doubt if the National Museum would ever again have the chance to get a collection which would be from every standpoint as interesting. Of course the actual hunting of the big game I would want to do myself, or have my son do; but the specimens will all go to the National Museum. . . . Now, can you, in view of getting these specimens for the National Museum, arrange for the services of one or two field taxidermists, and for the care and transport of the specimens? As ex-President, I should feel that the National Museum is the museum to which my collection should go.¹⁶

By July 2 the collecting part of the trip for the Smithsonian Institution had been expedited by generous contributions from Andrew Carnegie, Leigh Hunt, and Oscar Straus. TR wrote Robert Bridges on August 14, 1908, that he wanted his connection with the National Museum emphasized. His mind at ease that his well-earned vacation was going to result in a scientific contribution, he turned again to his precise planning. All sorts of gifts were sent—instant coffee, a rabbit's foot from John L. Sullivan, the wonderful elephant gun from his English friends, a model of an elephant's head from Carl Akeley of the Field Museum of Natural History, hand-knitted socks, and many other things.

Of vast importance was the planning for the scientific equipment. Edgar A. Mearns, an Army physician and naturalist, retired in order to accompany the President. With the President's approval, Dr. Mearns arranged for medical supplies from the Army; with the help of two field naturalists sent by the Smithsonian, J. Alding Loring and Edmund Heller, the enormous amount of equipment and chemicals necessary to preserve the skins of elephants and rhinos was selected and shipped ahead to Africa. Occasionally he disagreed with his English friends about the kind of supplies they suggested; he insisted that most of the liquor be left out and canned tomatoes substituted. He eliminated

many of the luxuries listed as being essential to the needs of an ex-sovereign.

Careful thought was also given to choosing the books that would be bound in pigskin and fitted into a special case by W. H. Lowdermilk and Co., the Washington bookseller; this was the gift of President Roosevelt's sister, Corinne Roosevelt Robinson. Before he left the White House he sent Scribner's a list of the books in the Pigskin Library to file carefully, as he planned to use it as an appendix to his book.¹⁷

When word leaked out about his impending trip to Africa, he received many invitations to speak and receive honorary degrees after the completion of the hunting trip, as well as to make formal and informal visits. Among the few formal invitations he accepted was one from Lord George Nathaniel Curzon, eminent British statesman, who asked him to deliver the Romanes Lecture at Oxford in 1910. Roosevelt responded enthusiastically (August 18, 1908): "Indeed, your letter relieves me from rather a quandary." He said that he would like to see a number of friends in England after he left Africa, but "had a horror of ex-Presidents traveling around with no real business, thereby putting unfortunate potentates in a position where they feel obliged to entertain." He also accepted invitations to speak at the Sorbonne and at the University of Berlin and prepared all three addresses while still in the White House. Characteristically, he was most enthusiastic about the Romanes Lecture, for "Biological Analogies in History" was to be delivered at a famous university by one who regarded himself as a scientific scholar. To be sure of his facts, he sent a draft of his address to Henry Fairfield Osborn, of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, late in 1908: "Fair" sent it back with a number of suggestions: "I have left out certain passages that are likely to bring on war between the United States and the governments referred to."¹⁸

Many people were concerned about the health of a 50-year-old, overweight man, even though he had always been an advocate of the strenuous life. He occasionally had a return of the fever he had contracted in the Spanish-American War; and he had practically no sight in one eye and limited vision in the other. Scattered in his gear on every hunting trip were eight or 10 pairs of glasses. Proper shoes were very important to him, as well

as adequate waterproof hunting clothes. When Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, an old friend who had been best man at his second marriage, wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt, already unenthusiastic about the trip, Roosevelt himself replied to "Springy's" letter on September 17, 1908:

Oh you beloved Mrs. Gummidge! If you feel as melancholy over my trip to Africa as you do over the future of the race generally, at least you must not share the feeling too fully with Mrs. Roosevelt. I laughed until I almost cried over your sending her the pamphlet upon the "sleeping sickness," and explaining in your letter that it was perfectly possible that I would not die of that, because (in the event of my not previously being eaten by a lion or crocodile, or killed by an infuriated elephant or buffalo) malarial fever or a tribe of enraged savages might take me off before the sleeping sickness got at me!¹⁹

The President answered numerous letters giving advice and asking favors: a Princeton student wanted an electric catfish, and "Oom John" (John Burroughs) wrote on February 20, 1909, that he wanted to know more about the songs of the birds than he had yet been able to learn from any of the African hunting books, ending his letter by wishing the President as much success in the wilds of Africa as he had had in the wilds of American politics.

Meanwhile, the newspapers, and especially the cartoonists, were having a lot to say about the expedition. In the days between the end of his Presidency and the beginning of his trip, it has been said that more newspaper coverage was given to Roosevelt than to President Taft. The March 1909 *National Geographic* was a special issue on Africa, with an illustrated article by Sir Harry Johnston, noted British explorer and geographer: "Where Roosevelt Will Hunt: the Most Interesting Geographical Region in the World." Newspapermen had been fighting for a chance to cover the trip, and much pressure was placed on Roosevelt. In the Roosevelt papers there is a carbon copy of a four-page letter written to Melville E. Stone, of the Associated Press, after the President had heard that newspapermen had made reservations on the boat he was to take. "Now," he wrote on December 2, 1908, after pointing out how he had cooperated with reporters all during his public life, "it will be an indefensible wrong, a gross impropriety from every standpoint, for any newspaper to endeavor to have its representatives ac-

company me on this trip, or to fail to give me the complete privacy to which every citizen who acts decently and behaves himself is entitled." The hunter-naturalist managed to avoid accompanying press coverage during his hunt, but he could not stop the press at home, nor writers of articles and books. He was news, wherever he was. Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt wrote to Kermit in Africa (November 28, 1909): "The country is crazy-mad about Father & the poor President must have a horrid time. The newspaper men in W[ashing-ton] who dine together have formed a 'Back from Elba' Club & formally drink the toast at each meeting."²⁰

On March 23, 1909, the Roosevelt party sailed from Hoboken, N.J. Hundreds of people came to see him off—Rough Riders, members of the tennis cabinet, former Cabinet members, M. Jean Jules Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and the emissary of President Taft, Archie W. Butt, as well as many other known and unknown admirers. He endured the sea voyage to Naples; from there on to Mombasa he was delighted to have Selous on board. In *African Game Trails* (p. 7) he describes his friend's hunting prowess, adding:

To hear him tell of what he has seen and done is no less interesting to a naturalist than to a hunter. There were on the ship many men who loved wild nature, and who were keen hunters of big game; and almost every day, as we steamed over the hot, smooth waters of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, we would gather on deck around Selous to listen to tales of those strange adventures that only come to the man who has lived long the lonely life of the wilderness.

After one night at Mombasa, the Roosevelt party and Selous boarded the Governor's special train to go through the large English game reserve on the way to Nairobi. The conservationist thoroughly enjoyed seeing wild nature and pointed out that "all civilized governments" are now realizing that it is their duty to preserve such areas.

They stayed near Nairobi while the last provisions were bought and the final arrangements made for the safari. Leigh Hunt had cabled (February 23, 1909) from Khartoum before Roosevelt left the White House that he had completed most satisfactory arrangements. The man in charge of the hunting, under Roosevelt's direction, of course, was R. J. Cuninghame, a Scotsman who had settled in Africa. Roosevelt later wrote of him that no better man for the purpose could be found anywhere.²¹

The party varied from time to time, but as Roosevelt pointed out when he sailed, *he* was "in charge of a scientific expedition sent out by the Smithsonian." There were the three naturalists who have already been mentioned in connection with the planning of the trip: Edgar A. Mearns, Edmund Heller, and J. Alden Loring. Dr. Mearns had been appointed to the honorary position of Associate in Zoology in the United States National Museum. Heller, according to Mr. Roosevelt, always took things as they came; when a wounded lioness was charging and his only weapon was a pair of field glasses, he "spoke to us with an amused smile." Roosevelt frequently praised all three naturalists, but it was Heller "who handled all the skins, who, in other words, was making the expedition of permanent value so far as big game was concerned."²² In the Edgar A. Mearns papers in the Library there is a humorous postscript to an undated note from Heller: "I have contracted a bad case of rhinocerositis and am not at present able to skin small varmints."

Roosevelt emphasized the fact that his assistants were field naturalists, contrasting them to "the mere closet naturalist." They had to be hardy explorers, schooled in performing very hard work, enduring fatigue and hardship, encountering all kinds of risks, and grappling with every conceivable emergency. Loring was a remarkably successful trapper of small mammals, and Roosevelt believed that there could be no better collector

Rirght, from John T. McCutcheon's T.R. in Cartoons (Chicago, 1910). In African Game Trails Roosevelt speaks of meeting a group of American friends on his way back to camp, John T. McCutcheon among them: "McCutcheon, the cartoonist, had been at a farewell lunch given me by Robert Collier just before I left New York, and at the lunch we had been talking much of George Ade, and the first question I put to him was 'Where is George Ade?' for if one unexpectedly meets an American cartoonist on a hunting trip in mid-Africa there seems no reason why one should not also see his crony, an American playwright."



WHEN THE NEWS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S
VISIT REACHED AFRICA



Telegrams & Cables.
JUJA NAIROBI.

LIEBER'S CODE.

Juja Farm.

Nairobi. 17th May, 1902

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

To:-

Theodore Roosevelt, Esq.,

Thompsons ville

Cin: U.S.A.



Dear Ted,

Just a line to say that everything is going on well. I am really proud of Kermit. It is hard to realize that the rather timid boy of four years ago has turned out a perfectly cool and daring fellow. Indeed he is a little too reckless and keeps my heart in my throat, for I worry about him all the time: he is not a good shot, not even as good as I am, and Heaven knows I am poor enough; but he is a bold rider, always cool and fearless, and eager to work all day long. He ran down and killed a Giraffe, alone, and a Hyena also, and the day before yesterday he stopped a charging Leopard within six yards of him, after it had mauled one of our porters. I have had very good luck. I have killed four good Lions in addition to two cubs; it was exciting, and you would have loved it. ~~Yesterday~~ I also killed two Rhinos both of which charged,

T.R. 2 of 17/5/09.

a Hippo and two Bull Giraffes, and various Antelopes Zebras and so forth. So far we have been in the settled districts, and I have lived most comfortably, at the moment being at Juja Farm which is really luxurious.

Naturally I am specially interested to know of every new development in your own affairs. Do let me know as soon as anything definite is decided on.

Your loving father,



T. R.

TR's pride in Kermit's performance is also seen in this letter to his oldest son, who had decided not to make the trip with his father. From the Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., papers, in the Manuscript Division.

anywhere. Of Mearns he wrote: "Dr. Mearns, in addition to birds and plants, never let pass the opportunity to collect anything else from reptiles and fishes to land shells."²³ In addition, he was often called upon to act as a physician to anyone needing help.

Of course, to Theodore Roosevelt the most important member of the group was his son Kermit, who had always been particularly close to him. On many occasions the President sent him the correspondence about plans for the trip and designated him finally the official photographer.

In one of Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt's last gifts to the Library is a fragment of one of the extremely rare surviving communications between President and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt,²⁴ in which Mr. Roosevelt told his wife about their son in Africa:

Kermit has just joined me here. He has had a very successful hunt and is such a dear boy. He has

steadied down, is less reckless, more considerate of others; and is so keen and hardy that I consider him a very good hunter in a wild and difficult country. I am extremely proud of him.²⁵

Roosevelt and his son were guests of Sir Alfred and Lady Pease, British ranchers, for two weeks, both at their home and on safari; the delightful climate, animals, birds, and natives are described in his chapter "On an East African Ranch" in *African Game Trails*. A visit was made also to an American couple, the William N. McMillans, at Juja Farm. Most of the trip, however, was spent in real wilderness camps, sometimes in dangerous areas. Roosevelt had great praise for the native porters and other members of the safari, a large number of whom were needed to transport equipment and supplies and to help carry and preserve the skins of the animals that were shot. Their singing as they worked or relaxed around a campfire delighted him. Their devotion to the Roosevelts and their interest in their em-

players' success and comfort were deeply appreciated.

Obviously, it was not only the big game that attracted Roosevelt; he was excited about the birds, the sunsets, the natives and their resourcefulness, the mission schools, and the opportunities for settlement. And he loved the "stout, quiet little beast," a sorrel horse he named "Tranquillity," which he often rode until he was in sight of game. It was not easy for "an elderly man with rheumatism" to "vault" back upon his horse if there was danger. Typical of his vivid descriptions of the hunt is the following account of shooting an elephant. (He always seemed to know the exact distance in yards between him and his victim!)

At forty yards I fired the right barrel of the Holland into his head, and though I missed the brain the stock dazed him and brought him to an instant halt. Im-

mediately Kermit put a bullet from the Winchester into his head; as he wheeled I gave him the second barrel between the neck and shoulder, through his ear; and Kermit gave him three more shots before he slewed round and disappeared In we went after him . . . with rifle ready for instant action; for though his strength was evidently fast failing, he was also evidently in a savage temper, anxious to wreak his vengeance before he died Stealing forward Kermit and I slipped up to within a dozen feet of him I put a bullet into his heart, Kermit fired; each of us fired again on the instant; the mighty bull threw up his trunk, crashed over backward, and lay dead on his side among the bushes. A fine sight he was, a sight to gladden any hunter's heart, as he lay in the twilight, a giant in death.²⁶

At times others hunted with the Roosevelt party. In addition to Leslie Tarlton, W. Judd, W. N. McMillan, Hugh H. Heatley, Quentin Grogan, and others, they met Carl Ethan Akeley, the sculptor-scientist,²⁷ who was there to obtain a group of elephants for the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Roosevelt decided that Akeley should camp with them that night, as Akeley wanted "two cows and a calf" for his group of elephants. An elephant Roosevelt had had to kill because she was charging him from 25 yards provided him with a hide to give to the Museum of California at San Francisco.²⁸

Roosevelt occasionally reported his whereabouts and the results of his hunting to William Robert Foran, an officer in the British East African police in Nairobi, who was acting as a representative of the Associated Press. Foran's communications from Roosevelt, preserved in the Roosevelt papers in the Library of Congress, are revelatory of Roosevelt's reaction to the mail from America. Evidently there were complaints that he was shooting more game than was necessary. On July 27, 1909, he sent a message to Foran by a runner: "As for the cable from America . . . I think all that is necessary to say is that not an animal has been shot except for food or to be preserved in the National Museum . . . and that of course you cannot give the exact date of the shooting of any particular creature."

Regrettably, very little of the large amount of

Theodore Roosevelt to Oscar S. Straus, then Ambassador to Turkey, who was invited to meet Roosevelt in Egypt at the end of the safari. From the Oscar S. Straus papers in the Manuscript Division.

*On Safari
(here the roughness of writing
materials)
Nov 22nd 1909*

*Dear Mr. Ambassador,
I have just met
Akeley, & have killed
three elephants for him; and
he handed me your
welcome letter and The
Gift! for which many
many thanks.*

*Now, my dear fellow,
you can't imagine how I*



Kermit Roosevelt and his father display eland horns. From the Kermit Roosevelt collection.

mail he received in Africa has been preserved in the Roosevelt papers in the Library, though letters he wrote from Africa are to be found in the Library's collections of papers of Andrew Carnegie, Gifford Pinchot, Henry White, Elihu Root, Whitelaw Reid, Edgar A. Mearns, William Allen White, James R. Garfield, Oscar Straus, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and President Roosevelt, himself.

Among the game killed by Roosevelt and Kermit were the giant eland as well as many other kinds of antelope, elephants, gazelles, giraffes, hartebeest, wildebeest, hippos, rhinos, hyenas,

impallas, koodoos, leopards, lions, buffalo, wart hogs, and waterbucks. Roosevelt referred to the foolish obsession for record heads which seemed to absorb completely so many hunters who write. He appreciated the beauty of the animals and the country that supported them; once he was glad that the safari had enough meat so that he did not have to shoot "these beautiful creatures." In his particularly colorful style he described being surrounded by animals:

I could not help laughing at finding that we were the centre of a thoroughly African circle of deeply interested spectators. We were in a middle of a vast plain,

covered with sun-scorched grass and here and there a stunted thorn; in the background were isolated barren hills, and the mirage wavered in the distance. Vultures wheeled overhead. The rhino, less than half a mile away, stared steadily at us. Wildebeest—their heavy forequarters and the carriage of their heads making them look like bison—and hartebeest were somewhat nearer, in a ring all round us, intent upon our proceedings. Four topi became so much interested that they approached within two hundred and fifty yards and stood motionless. A buck tommy came even closer, and a zebra trotted by at about the same distance, uttering its queer bark or neigh. It continued its course past the rhino, and started a new train of ideas in the latter's muddled reptilian brain; round it wheeled, gazed after the zebra, and then evidently concluded that everything was normal, for it lay down to sleep.²⁹

Nor did Roosevelt's intense and life-long interest in birds wane while he was hunting the mighty beasts. In the Edgar A. Mearns papers (May 22, 1909) is a note asking that Mearns mount the whydah finches he was sending in their "dancing postures."³⁰ While on safari to the Nzoï River he became keenly interested in the honey birds which led the party to honey. John Burroughs had "especially charged" him to look personally into this extraordinary habit of the honey bird. The natives assured him that the birds would also lead him to serpents or wild beasts, and "sure enough Dr. Mearns was once led up to a rhinoceros." He was also fascinated by the tick-bird which fed upon the ticks, "massed . . . like barnacles on an old boat," that infested big game, and he was amazed that the animals "should mind them so little."³¹

Very few months passed before Roosevelt realized that the scientific part of the trip was going to be vastly more expensive than had been anticipated. The man of action, on June 1, 1909, wrote to Andrew Carnegie, large contributor to the expedition:

I write you because I know you were one of those who helped Dr. Walcott to send out this expedition. The expense of the expedition is very much greater than we had foreseen, because the condition of doing the excellent work that the three naturalists have done, is that they shall take an immense amount of scientific impedimenta with them. As one item I may mention that there are four tons of salt—which when carried on the backs of porters makes a heavy showing . . . So far, the naturalists have done excellent work; I am inclined to think better work than has ever been done here by naturalists in the same length of time.³²

Roosevelt told Carnegie that they already had obtained a thousand specimens, including 70 skins of big game, but that he had written Charles D. Walcott that the scientific expedition would have to be suspended unless funds were received by August 1. He needed \$30,000 for the scientific expedition to continue until March 1910, adding in his own hand "the results of this trip will constitute a permanent memorial." Written in pencil on the first page is a copy of Carnegie's cabled reply: "Rest easy Walcott is here he and I will arrange." From Naivasha on July 23, 1909, Roosevelt wrote Carnegie that he was much pleased and relieved by his cable.

The "literary feller" more than met his schedule for writing for Scribner's: Robert Bridges wrote him that he didn't believe there ever was a more thoughtful contributor.³³ He was also writing the editorials he had promised the *Outlook*. By the 27th of July 1909 he had completed the minimum of eight articles which he had promised to Scribner's. On that day he wrote to "Dear Bridges (In his absence Scribner, Burlingame, or anybody)" suggesting that they be published at the earliest possible moment, "for my coming here has attracted attention to the country and everybody is starting to forestall the market by writing a book about it. I am told that no less than eight books on hunting and traveling in British East Africa have been or are now being written to be published in America at the beginning of next year."³⁴

Sometimes Roosevelt found the writing "a bothersome task" and wished that he could do better work—"it is hard, out in the wilderness"—yet he considered it an occupation that gave point to the whole trip. He spoke of how hard he had worked on the articles and worried about how they would strike Scribner's or the general public. He asked Scribner's to use the following motto "for that African hunt of mine" when the book comes out: "He loved the big game as if he were their father." From London he asked that someone at Scribner's check to see that the quotation from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was correct. He had sent the title and subtitle of his book from Africa on June 1, 1909; by March 15, 1910, he had sent the entire copy for the book—foreword, appendixes, photographs—everything except the table of contents. He saw to it that Kermit, Heller, and Loring were paid for their

photographs. After he had sent the first eight articles to Scribner's, he wrote of his financial difficulties, and money was deposited for him.³⁵

When Roosevelt sent Charles Walcott a brief report of the Smithsonian African Expedition, he indicated that the figures, while substantially accurate, would be changed slightly in the final reports. He told how they had landed at Mombasa on April 21, 1909, and reached Khartoum on March 14, 1910, and gave the itineraries of all members of the party.³⁶ The figures were revised upwards: his expedition had enriched the National Museum by 5,013 mammals, 4,453 birds, 2,352 reptiles and amphibians, not to mention thousands of fish, insects, shells, plants, and anthropological material.

"Theodorus Africanus, the terror of all living things in the civilized world,"³⁷ had had a happy and successful hunting and collecting trip after the financial problems were solved. In spite of the dire predictions about his health, he was unable to hunt only five days during the 11-month trip; he attributed this brief illness to the fever he had contracted in the Spanish-American War. At one point he and Kermit were the only well members of the party; he often spoke of hunting all day, sometimes alone.

In addition to the hunting and scientific achievements of Roosevelt's trip, numerous publications resulted, *African Game Trails* the most important, of course. Dr. Mearns' own contributions came out in the Smithsonian Institution's *Miscellaneous Collections*. On October 15, 1910, Roosevelt wrote to Robert Foran that he understood about his wanting to publish a book about the trip, adding that he had "all along been afraid that the African business would by this time be overworked, but I hoped to the contrary." Edmund Heller kept putting off publishing his notes, and Roosevelt kept prodding him. In the end *Life-Histories of African Game Ani-*

mals (Scribner's, 1914) was published jointly by Roosevelt and Heller, with a distinct Roosevelt flavor. Roosevelt insisted that a complete list of all the contributors to the African hunt be placed in the appendix.

Many books have been published on the various aspects of Roosevelt's career, but there is as yet no completed, definitive biography. President Roosevelt's grandson, Kermit Roosevelt, of Washington, D.C., the donor of Roosevelt's hunting library to the Library of Congress, published an account of retracing Theodore Roosevelt's hunting trip—*A Sentimental Safari* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). One of his sources was a hunting diary, with drawings and statistics, kept by Roosevelt during the African hunt; it is not among the Roosevelt papers in the Library of Congress.³⁸ John Hall Wheelock compiled *A Bibliography of Theodore Roosevelt* (Scribner's, 1920), which should be brought up to date; all the reviews and forewords TR wrote to hunting books, as well as to many other kinds, should be included. Roosevelt's trip back through parts of Africa and Europe is frankly and charmingly described in two of the three long letters—more like retrospective journals than letters—published by Elting E. Morison in the small volume *Cowboys and Kings* (Harvard University Press, 1954).

Other divisions of the Library that have material relating to the African hunt are the Prints and Photographs Division, the Rare Book Division, and the Serial Division. The general collections contain an enormous amount of material by or about Roosevelt. The Presidential Papers Section of the Manuscript Division will soon publish a microfilm edition of Theodore Roosevelt's papers in the Library. Then scholars throughout the world will be able to see copies of all of our Roosevelt letters about Africa, as well as of the letters written to him about Africa by hunters, writers, and public officials.

NOTES

¹ Theodore Roosevelt papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, quotations are from this collection.

² *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Elting E. Morison, ed. (Harvard University Press, 1952), vol. 6, p. 1089. Although only one of every 10 of the available letters was used, this eight-volume edition is superbly

revealing of Theodore Roosevelt's multiple interests and abilities.

³ *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth* (New York, 1928), p. 3.

⁴ Paul A. Cutright, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Naturalist* (New York, 1956), p. 7.

⁵ *Diaries*, p. 276.

⁶ Ibid., p. 280.

⁷ Roosevelt family papers, accession 13,325, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁸ See *QJCA*, 15:145 (May 1958).

⁹ Strangely enough, young Roosevelt did not mention in his college diary the possibility of writing as a career, for he had been working on the *Naval War of 1812* (New York, 1882) while he was still at Harvard. Throughout his life, writing was essential to him.

¹⁰ Cutright, p. 68. Cutright points out that while most historians had considered that one of Roosevelt's major contributions had been in the field of conservation, his relationship to the Boone and Crockett Club had been neglected.

¹¹ Ray Stannard Baker papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹² *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 725.

¹³ Microfilm of Roosevelt-Scribner's correspondence, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Copy in Elihu Root papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁷ From Khartoum, March 15, 1910, Roosevelt wrote that he had received so much mail in Africa about the Pigskin Library that he felt that he might as well "add a word on this subject." Comparisons of his list of books taken on the African hunt with that made public by President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard and critical inquiries, such as a complaint that he had omitted Walt Whitman, evidently induced him to enlarge his appendix on the Pigskin Library in *African Game Trails* to 14 pages. In addition to the original list sent from the White House, he included some of the books he had bought or that had been sent to him in Africa, as well as favorite books he had taken on other hunting trips. He wrote in *African Game Trails* (vol. 1, p. 184): "I almost always had some volume with me, either in my saddle-pocket or in the cartridge-bag. . . . Often my reading would be done while resting under a tree at noon, perhaps beside the carcass of a beast I killed." He seldom took scientific books because he felt that "as yet" scientific books rarely had literary value.

¹⁸ Quoted in Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York, 1931), p. 519.

¹⁹ The original of this letter is in the Roosevelt papers in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²⁰ Kermit Roosevelt papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²¹ *African Game Trails*, vol. 1, p. 184. The edition used for this paper was published by Scribner's in 1924.

²² Ibid., p. 115.

²³ Ibid., p. 174.

²⁴ Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt systematically destroyed nearly all the letters exchanged with her husband. She wrote about the task, "sad and yet happy," to James R. Garfield, November 10, 1921. From the James R. Garfield papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²⁵ Kermit Roosevelt papers.

²⁶ *African Game Trails*, vol. 2, p. 472.

²⁷ In the James R. Garfield papers is a letter from Mrs. Roosevelt (May 28, 1919): "When you are in New York please go to see the lion which Mr. Akeley has modeled as a memorial for Theodore. . . . He did it after returning from Oyster Bay the day of the funeral. I find it very wonderful."

²⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to William Robert Foran, Roosevelt papers.

²⁹ *African Game Trails*, vol. 1, p. 202.

³⁰ For a further description see *QJCA*, 15:146 (May 1958).

³¹ *African Game Trails*, vol. 1, p. 36.

³² Andrew Carnegie papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³³ Roosevelt-Scribner's microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Elihu Root papers.

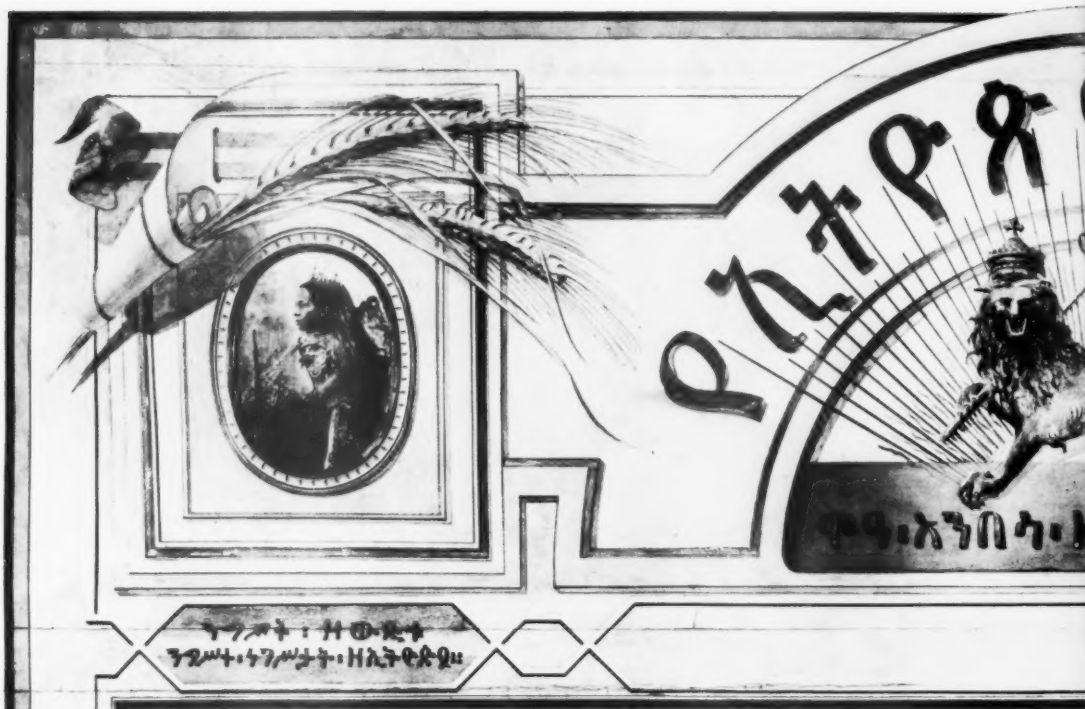
³⁷ From a newspaper clipping sent to Kermit Roosevelt by his mother on January 1, 1910. Kermit Roosevelt papers.

³⁸ See "TR's Big-Game Library," *QJLC*, 21:167-171 (July 1964).



THE HAILE SELASSIE
MAP OF ETHIOPIA

by Walter W. Ristow



By modern cartographic standards, Africa is poorly mapped. For portions of selected countries (e.g. Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Republic of South Africa, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania) there are topographic maps at scales of an inch to a mile or larger. Most of the continent, however, is covered only by reconnaissance surveys or general maps at medium and small scales.

There are, nonetheless, in the Library of Congress an estimated 100,000 maps and some 100 atlases of Africa and its several administrative

Preceding page, colored portrait of the then Prince Regent, Ras Tafari, as it appears on the map which once hung in his palace. In 1928 Ras Tafari became King, although his aunt was still the ruler of Ethiopia. When she died in 1930, he became the Emperor Haile Selassie, "Lion of Judah, Elect of God, and King of Kings of Ethiopia."

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and geographic divisions and subdivisions. Approximately 30,000 of the former are single-sheet maps, while the remainder are sheets of multiple-sheet map and chart sets and series. Included are maps dating back to the 16th century, as well as detailed and up-to-date maps based upon modern aerial surveys. A distinctive 17th-century wall map of Africa was described in the January 1967 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*.

Among the atlases are historical works relating to Africa's colonial period, as well as recent economic and resource atlases for a number of countries. The discovery and exploration periods are well covered in four noteworthy facsimile atlases which were compiled and edited by the Vicomte de Santarem (1842), Prince Yusuf Kamal of Egypt (16 volumes, 1926-51), Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota (6 volumes, 1960-62), and Egon Klemp (1968, published by Edition Leipzig). The first three facsimile atlases were briefly described in an article in the July 1967 *Quarterly Journal*.



Most of the single-sheet African maps are of interest for the geographic and subject data they present. Some few, however, are valued more for their association with some noteworthy person or persons. Among these is a large and beautifully colored manuscript map of Ethiopia which once decorated a wall in the palace of His Royal Highness Ras Tafari, now the Emperor Haile Selassie. The legend and all place names on the 59- by 52-inch map are in Amharic. Physical features include rivers, generalized relief, portrayed by reddish-brown shading of varying density, and spot elevations. Administrative boundaries, towns and cities, roads, and the railroad, which runs from Jibuti to Addis Ababa, are among the cultural features represented.

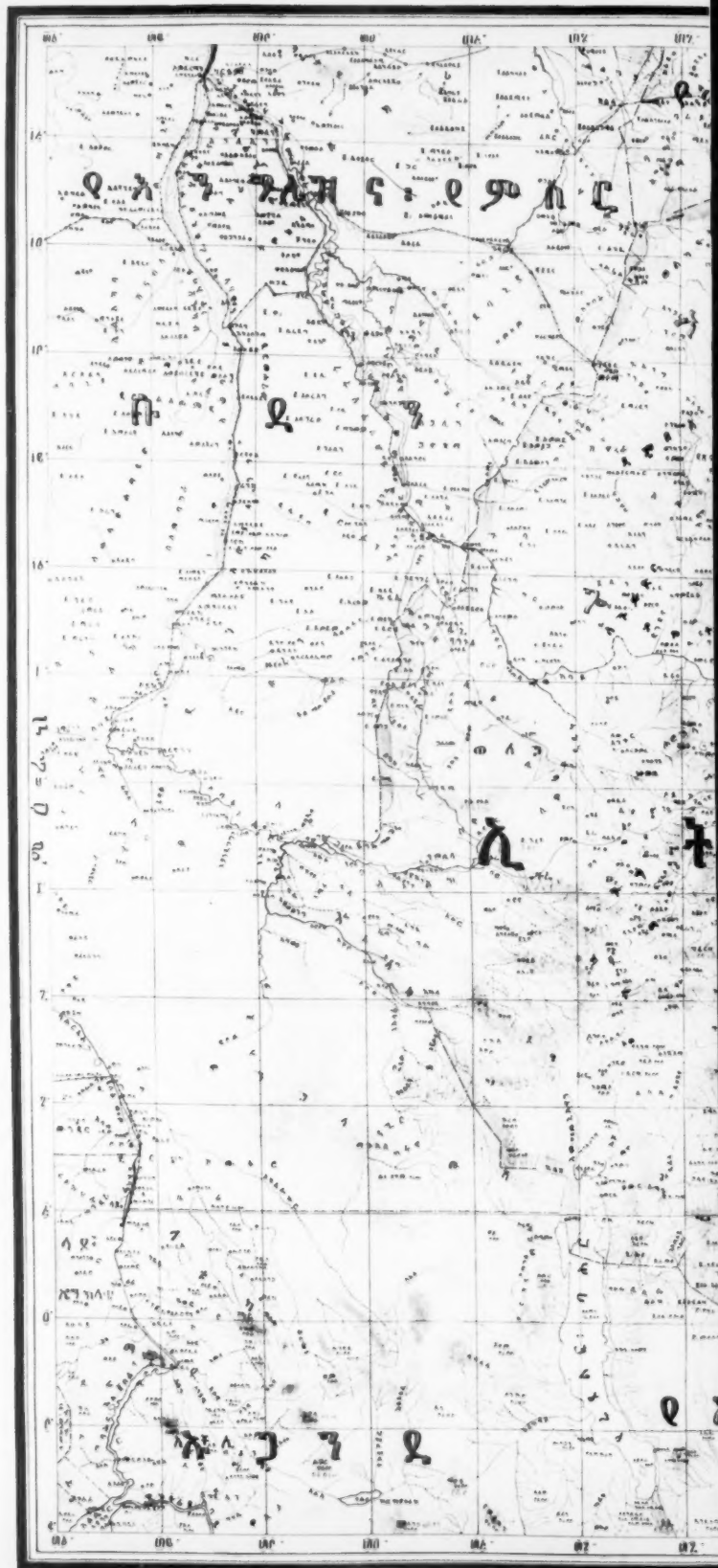
The map fills only three-quarters of the large sheet. The remaining upper quarter is ornately illustrated and colored. In the left-hand corner is a hand-illuminated photograph, within an oval frame, of Her Royal Highness Zauditu, who was "Queen of Kings" when the map was drawn.

Upper quarter of the manuscript map of Ethiopia, with portraits of the Queen and the Prince Regent flanking the Lion of Judah.

In the opposite corner, similarly framed and colored, is a portrait of the young Prince Regent, Ras Tafari. Between the two photographs is a manuscript drawing of the crowned Lion of Ethiopia bearing the Christian cross on its right shoulder. Inscribed beneath in Amharic is the motto of the rulers of Ethiopia: "The Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah." The signature of Kh. B. Papazian, court geographer, and the date 1923 appear below the legend near the upper right-hand corner of the map.

This unique manuscript map was presented to the Library in 1924 by Dr. Homer L. Shantz, who had personally received it as a gift from Ras Tafari. Trained in biology and botany, Dr. Shantz also made noteworthy contributions to agriculture, conservation, ecology, education, geography, land planning, and taxonomy during his long life (1876-1958).

The Haile Selassie map itself, with legend and place names in Amharic, which was prepared by Ethiopia's court geographer. Its authorship was challenged when Colonel Grabham, viewing it on exhibit at the Library, exclaimed, "Why, that is my map!" His map is shown on page 264.





Dr. Homer L. Shantz, who gave the Haile Selassie map to the Library of Congress. At the age of 80, after a distinguished government and academic career, he made a final expedition to Africa in 1956–57, at the request of the Office of Naval Research, to retrace his earlier steps and reexamine his data and conclusions. Portrait courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arizona Library.

At the end of World War I, Dr. Shantz was one of a group of technical advisers to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace who made a study of the natural plant resources and crop producing potential of Africa and Latin America. As Evelyn L. Pruitt pointed out, "This association opened a new chapter in his life and kindled what was to become a lifelong interest in all things African."¹ At the request of the Commission, a committee to produce a vegetation map of Africa was established in the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Plant Industry. Members of the committee were T. H. Kearney, G. N. Collins, and H. L. Shantz, chairman. Kearney compiled the vegetation map for North

Africa, while Shantz mapped the remainder of the continent.²

From August 1919 to September 1920, Shantz traversed the African continent, from Cape Town to Cairo, as an agricultural explorer with the Smithsonian Institution African Expedition. During these months he studied and photographed the vegetation, extracted numerous soil samples, observed the animal life, and investigated methods of agriculture.³ With the accumulated data Shantz revised his preliminary vegetation map of the continent. It was published, along with many of the photographs of the African trip, and with Charles F. Marbut's soil map, as a supplement to *The Vegetation and Soils of Africa*, which was coauthored by Shantz and Marbut (New York, American Geographical Society, 1923). For many years this was one of the standard reference books on the geography as well as on the vegetation and soils of Africa.

Shantz did not visit Ethiopia on his 1919–20 expedition. In 1924 he crossed the continent again, this time as a member of the Educational Commission to East Africa, which was sponsored by the Phelps Stokes Fund, the British Colonial Office, and the International Missionary Council. Information gained on this second trip was recorded in a number of publications, most significant of which was a series of nine papers on "Agricultural Regions of Africa," published in successive issues of *Economic Geography* between 1940 and 1943.⁴ It was on this expedition that Shantz visited Ethiopia and received from the Prince Regent the manuscript map of the country.

The meeting with Ras Tafari is recorded in Dr. Shantz's journal, now preserved in the Special Collections Division, University of Arizona Library. Arriving at the palace after a horseback ride through heavy rain, Shantz noted that "we dressed rapidly and were soon presented to His Highness and his wife. A very interesting couple. After being introduced and talking for a few minutes we were escorted to the dinning [sic] hall, a large room with table set for each. . . . At this dinner two things impressed me. The emptiness and unrealness of our own palaver, and the short sensible replies of the prince. He stood out above the others in native refinement and keen intellect."⁵

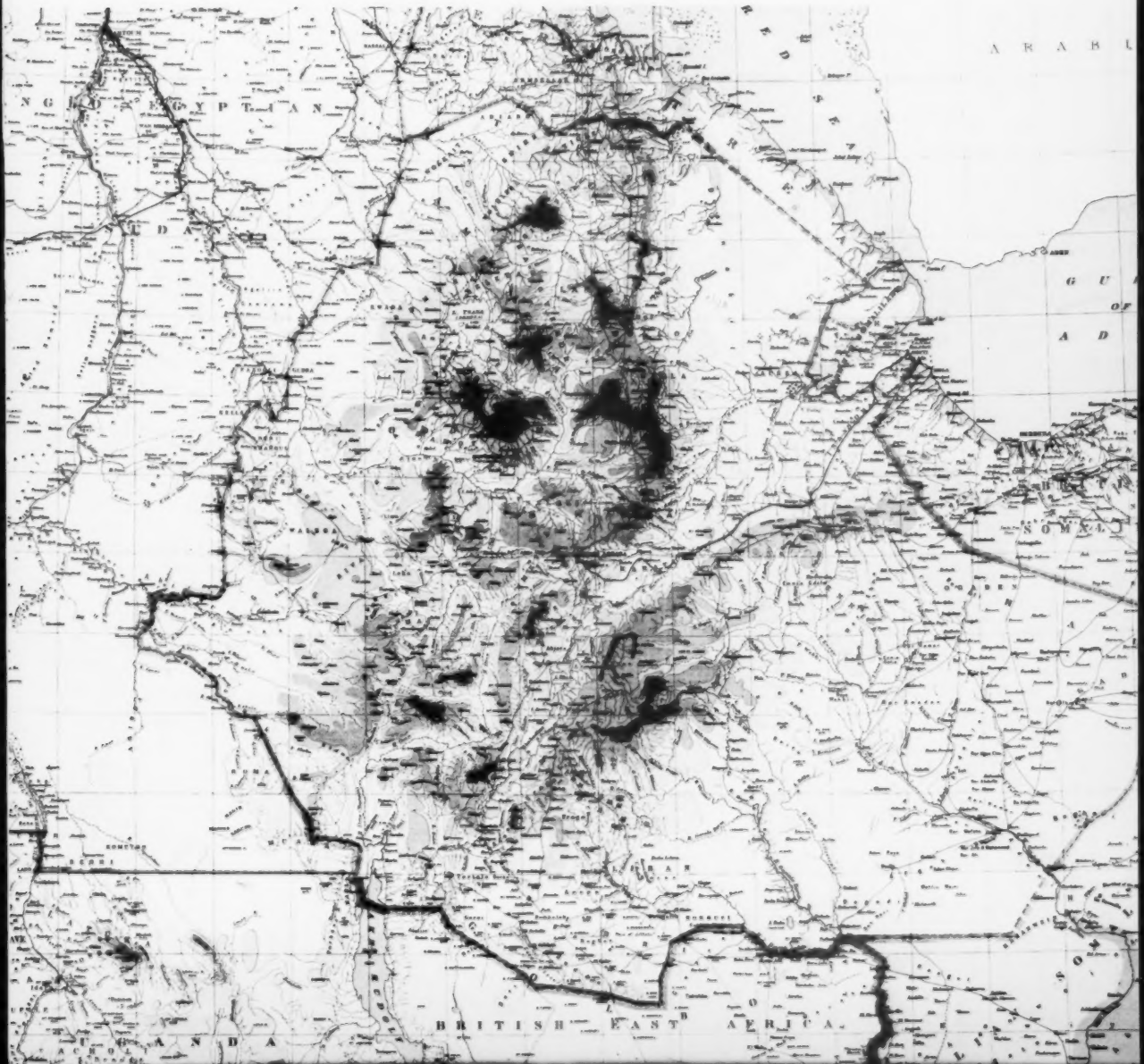
"When we left Addis Ababa," Shantz reported

later in the journal, "the Ras sent us each a signed photo of himself, and some spears, shields, and coins as souvenirs. I got a map of Ethiopia and photo. Jones has those damned spears and shields. They are always in the way."⁶

Col. Lawrence Martin, then Chief of the Map Division, was sufficiently impressed with the map of Ethiopia to describe it briefly in his 1925-26 accessions report. From careful examination of

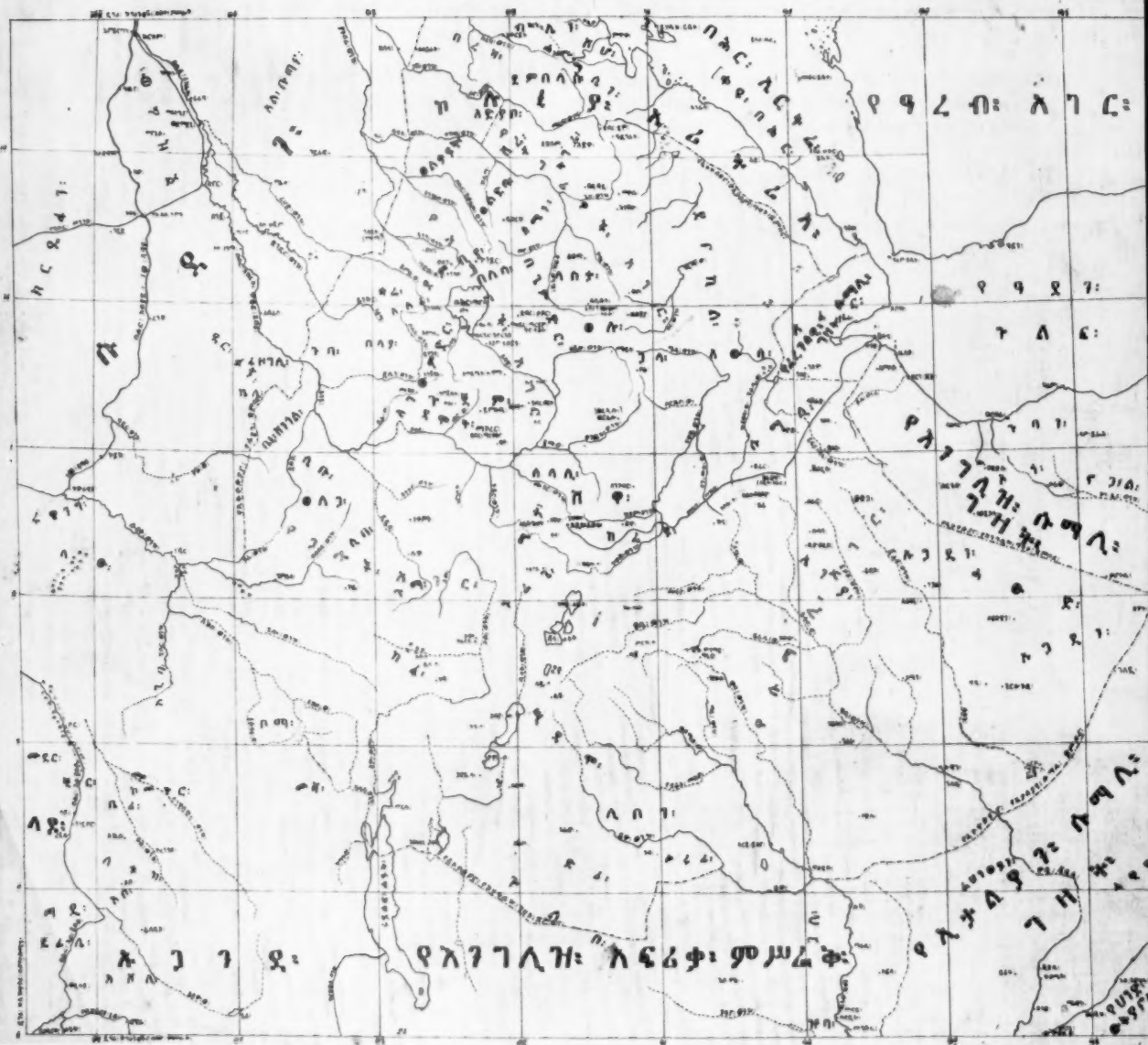
the map and preliminary research to determine its possible compilation sources, Martin concluded that "Kh. B. Papazian drew the map in 1923 'by order of the Regent,' at Addis Ababa, upon the basis (not acknowledged) of the British War Office map of 'Abyssinia,' Topographic Section, General Staff, No. 2319, scale 1:3,000,000, compiled and lithographed in 1908, and reprinted in December, 1918. The explanation of

This 1918 reprinting of a 1908 British War Office map of Abyssinia was the primary source used by Papazian in preparing the manuscript Haile Selassie map of Ethiopia. Note that the placement of Amharic names on that map is almost identical with the location of the corresponding English names on this map.



Map of Ethiopia prepared in 1922 by Col. G. W. Grabham, which he believed Papazian had copied.

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the scale of the map includes the statement that 1,500 meters equals 3,000 Ethiopian cubits." Martin assumed at this stage in his research that Papazian had transliterated the English place names into Amharic, in addition to ornamenting the map and doubling its scale from 1:3,000,000 to 1:1,500,000. With the assistance of Father Romaine Butin, of Catholic University, an Amharic scholar, Martin had obtained translations of the map's title, place names, and legend.

Further information concerning possible source material used by Papazian came to light in 1933. In that year, in connection with the convening of the International Geological Congress in Washington, the Library of Congress Map Division arranged a special exhibit, which included the Haile Selassie map of Ethiopia. Among the foreign delegates who viewed the exhibit was Col. G. W. Grabham, then director of Britain's Sudan Geological Survey. When Grabham saw the Ethiopian map, he exclaimed "Why, that is my map!" Martin was not present at the time, but when later informed by one of his assistants, he wrote to Mr. Grabham asking for further details. With his reply Grabham sent photocopies of manuscript maps of the world, Africa, and Ethiopia, each in Amharic. The three maps, explained Grabham, had been compiled in 1922 for an atlas which the Sudan Geological Survey proposed to publish. Not long after the maps were drawn, copies had been sent to Ras Tafari by the Survey. The map of Abyssinia, which is at the scale of 1:3,000,000 (the same as that of the British General Staff map) does not show elevations and is uncolored. On the basis of the information and maps received from Grabham, Martin concluded that Papazian had copied the Amharic place names from the 1922 manuscript map compiled by the Sudan Geological Survey.

Recent examination of the two maps, however, indicates that Martin's conclusion is not wholly accurate. There are, in fact, fewer place names shown on the Sudan map than on Papazian's map. It is possible that Papazian drew upon the Sudan map for some of the Amharic names, but transliterations for the smaller towns, villages, and streams were most likely made by him or one of his assistants. There are also other differences which suggest that the Sudan map was not a major compilation source for Papazian. For example, there are obvious differences in the Ethi-

opian boundary representations on the two maps. Further, the Sudan Survey map shows no roads or trails, whereas such a network is shown in red on the large map of Ethiopia.

Comparing Papazian's map with the 1918 edition of the General Staff map of Abyssinia, we note greater similarities. The conformation of the boundary is identical; the network of roads and trails on both maps is remarkably similar; and spot elevations are shown on these two maps but not on that prepared by the Sudan Survey. Moreover, the elevations on the Papazian map (transliterated into Amharic) appear in the identical locations as on the General Staff map. Careful examination of the General Staff and Papazian maps also indicates that all place names on the former are shown in the same relative location on the latter, but transliterated into Amharic characters. We may conclude, therefore, that Papazian drew most heavily upon the 1918 General Staff map in compiling the large map which Ras Tafari presented to Homer Shantz and which is now a valued possession of the Library of Congress.

The Haile Selassie map has been exhibited at various times during the past 45 years. One such occasion was at the time of the Italian Ethiopian confrontation in 1935, when the colorful and interesting map stimulated articles in the Washington newspapers. More details about how Shantz acquired the map and about its presentation by him to the Library were given in an article by Barbara Morley in the *Washington Post*:

In December, 1924, the Association of American Geographers held its meeting in Washington. At luncheon Col. Lawrence Martin, chief of the map division of the Library of Congress, sat next to Dr. Homer L. Shantz, then agricultural traveler for the Department of Agriculture, now president of the University of Arizona.

Dr. Shantz asked Col. Martin if he would come after the luncheon and look at a map. Col. Martin did and saw a beautiful manuscript map of Ethiopia, given Dr. Shantz by his Royal Highness Ras Tafari, prince regent of Ethiopia, and now Emperor Haile Selassie.

While on a trip from Cape to Cairo earlier in the year, Dr. Shantz stopped in Ethiopia and was entertained by the prince regent. He had seen the map on the wall [of the palace]. "What a beautiful map, Your Majesty," he remarked.

Immediately the prince regent, without a word to the American, clapped his hands. A slave appeared



The Emperor Haile Selassie with Verner W. Clapp, then Acting Librarian of Congress, at the Library's exhibit. Displays of books, documents, and photographs stressed Ethiopia's historic origins and modern development.

and Ras Tafari spoke a few words in Ethiopian.

When Dr. Shantz returned to his hotel in Addis Ababa the map was in his room. Later he found that to express admiration within the palace was to make a request. The map was his.

Shantz told Col. Martin he felt selfish about keeping the map, and asked: "Should I give it to a geographical society?"

"No," said Col. Martin, "you should give it to the Library of Congress."

"Right," was the reply, "I should have thought of that myself." And the map became the property of the library.

In concluding her article, Miss Morley remarked that "Haile Selassie's map, which has had such a long journey, and provided the library's map division with such an interesting chase to determine its origin, is now on display in the library along with other Ethiopian maps, giving an excellent indication of the physical obstacles the Italians must overcome in an effort to subdue the African nation."⁸

Since 1935 the Library has exhibited the Ethiopian map on several happier occasions. One such exhibit, which opened on May 28, 1954, honored the visit to the United States of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, who spent nearly an hour visiting the Ethiopian and other exhibits. While viewing the map of Ethiopia, he recalled to Library officials escorting him its presentation to Dr. Shantz 30 years earlier.

NOTES

¹ Evelyn L. Pruitt, 'Homer LeRoy Shantz, 1876-1958,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 51:392-393 (December 1961).

² Homer L. Shantz and Charles F. Marbut, *Vegetation and Soils of Africa* (New York, 1923), preface.

³ Pruitt, p. 393.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Shantz papers, African notes, 1924, p. 37-38, in Special Collections Division, University of Arizona

Library. Courtesy of Phyllis Ball, curator, Special Collections.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41-42.

⁷ Library of Congress, Division of Maps, *Noteworthy Maps, With Charts, Views and Atlases. Accessions for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1926* (Washington, 1927), compiled by Lawrence Martin, p. 24.

⁸ Barbara Morley, "Map Selassie Once Owned Is in the Library of Congress," *Washington Post*, October 20, 1935.

by Frederick R. Goff

EARLY AFRICANA IN THE RARE BOOK DIVISION



The words "early Africana" immediately suggest Egyptian materials to this rare book specialist. The earliest pieces of Africana in the Rare Book Division are several Egyptian papyri, presented to the Library in 1931 by the great master of provenance, the late Seymour de Ricci, who at that time was editing, in company with William J. Wilson, the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* in North American collections.

The most ancient of the fragments is written in four vertical columns in a cursive style described as hieratic. Believed to have been written in the 12th dynasty or about the year 2000 B.C., it may well prove to be the earliest specimen of calligraphy in the Library's vast collections.

Among the papyri written in Greek is a small document of the associated tax gatherers in Egypt which dates from the reign of Emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211). Contemporary with it is a fragment from Homer's *Iliad*, which contains portions of 11 lines (466-477) from the second book. This passage deals with the Greek warriors assembling for war, among whom Agamemnon stands out "with an eye like Jove's to threaten or command." The earliest Biblical text in the Library is a fragment of part of chapter 23 of Isaiah, verses 4-7 and 10-13, written in Greek

Above, the most ancient Egyptian papyrus in the Library.

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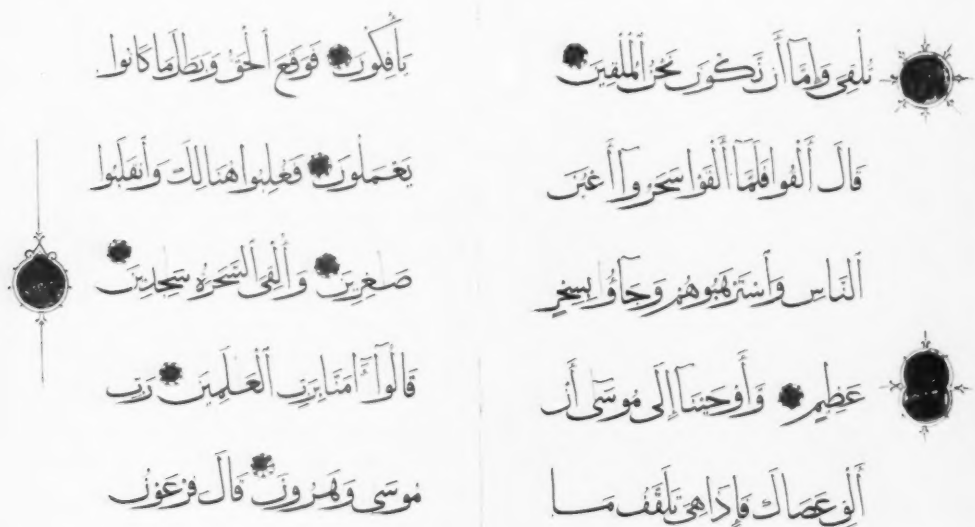
on both sides of the papyrus. This, it is believed, dates from the fourth century A.D. There is no certainty that the last two papyri were executed in Egypt, but it is likely that this was the case.

None of the medieval manuscripts, fragmentary or otherwise, appears to have an Egyptian origin except for one volume of the *Qu'ran* that dates from the late 14th century. With its fine calligraphic text highlighted with gold leaf, it is a handsome manuscript. The dedication to Amir Aytмыш al-Bajasi, who was executed in 1400, is particularly rich in its embellishment and apparently serves as a preface to each of the 30 volumes of the original set. An outstanding feature is the binding of light brown morocco which is tooled in blind and in gold. In the center there is a circular medallion with scalloped edges, and the corner quadrants are similarly treated, but with an interlacing rather than a geometrical pattern. The flap also is decorated with a smaller medallion encasing a 10-pointed star. This is the earliest instance of gold tooling on leather that the Library of Congress can produce. At the pres-

ent time similar leather covers are known to exist in at least five other collections, namely in the Freer Gallery in Washington, the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, the British Museum, the Vever Collection in Paris, and the Chester Beatty Collection in Dublin. The covers on volume 2 of the *Qu'ran* in the Walters Art Gallery provided the illustration for entry 61 in the catalog for the Baltimore exhibition entitled *The History of Bookbinding, 525-1950 A.D.*, which was mounted late in 1957. The catalog suggests the place of origin as Egypt or Syria; since the definite source is unknown we lean to the former in order to include the manuscript among the Library's early Africana.

There are a half dozen 15th-century Egyptian bindings detached from their manuscript texts that are also available in the Rare Book Division. Although they emulate the covers found on the 14th century *Qu'ran*, none surpasses it in style of decoration or in sophistication of design. Moving westward there is a fine example of a Maghribi binding of tan goatskin, also without text,

Ornamentation in gold embellishes these pages from a 14th-century Egyptian manuscript of the Qu'ran.



that was executed in Morocco during the 15th century. It is tooled in blind with a number of gold punch dots for emphasis. The basic ornamentation on both covers is a 10-lobed medallion in the center, with cusped corners within a frieze-like border. This fine binding was included as entry 58 in the Baltimore exhibition.

Although it has not been possible to make an exhaustive search of 15th-century publications for references to Africa and there is no definitive subject index to their content, a number of texts available in the Library come immediately to mind. First there are several editions of a work by a famous Egyptian, Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy), the *Cosmographia* (Rome, 1478; Ulm, 1482; Ulm, 1486; and Rome, 1490), containing a world map showing the upper portion of the African continent as it was known in Ptolemy's day, early in the Christian era, together with four more detailed maps of this same geographical area. As I write this I have before me the "Quarta Africae Tabula" belonging to the 1478 Rome edition. The map extends southerly to the fourth parallel below the equator. The southern area is captioned "Aethiopia Interior" and is accompanied by the statement "Regio Aethiopia in qua elephantes candidi omnes gignuntur et rhinocerontes et tigrides" (the region of Ethiopia in which white elephants, rhinoceroses, and tigers are known to have their habitat). The author of this phrase is in fact in as much error as the cartographer who placed Ethiopia below the equator; both the white elephant and the tiger are known to exist only in Asia.

Another even earlier source of African interest is Pliny the Elder's *Historia naturalis*, of which the Library has 10 editions in Latin: one in the Rosenwald Collection printed at Venice in 1469, others printed at Venice in 1472, 1483, 1487, and 1499, at Rome in 1470 and 1473, at Parma in 1476 and 1481, and at Treviso in 1479; the Library also has two Italian editions printed at Venice in 1476 and 1489. The fifth book of this encyclopedia written in the first century is devoted to a description of Africa, and there are numerous passages throughout the text relating to the fauna and flora of Africa that were known to Pliny. He devotes an entire chapter in the eighth book to the elephant and speaks of his remarkable intelligence including a memory.



Colored woodcut from Mandeville's *Itinerarius*.

Strabo's *Geographia*, which was written during the first century B.C., also treats of Africa, for Strabo had lived for five years in Alexandria, and had traveled as far as Ethiopia. In his text he alludes frequently to Homer, for whose scientific and geographical knowledge he acknowledged a deep respect. The Library has four 15th-century editions of the *Geographia*, three published in Venice in 1472, 1480, and 1494/95, and one in Treviso in 1480. To Strabo we are also indebted for what is probably the earliest printed account of the three great Pyramids at Gizeh.

Many of the early works on Africa included accounts of fabulous creatures, but it remained for Caius Julius Solinus to collect them from Pliny's *Historia naturalis* and Pomponius Mela's *Cosmographia*, of which the Library has six 15th-century editions, and to add a few fabrications of his own. Solinus' work, first published under the title *Polyhistor, sive De mirabilibus mundi* in Venice in 1472, enjoyed great popularity. At least 11 editions are recorded, of which the Library of Congress has nine, including the first. Some of the creatures, the dog-headed



Simeans of Ethiopia and an obscure race of men who had a dog for a king, also turn up in John Mandeville's *Itinerarius*, a largely plagiarized account written in the 14th century. The fabled kingdom of Prester John, since the 14th century considered to be located in Abyssinia, is also described in Mandeville's text. The rare illustrated edition in German, printed at Basel by Bernhard Richel about 1481, contains pictures of these monstrosities and many others. They also appear in borders on pages in the Nuremberg Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel printed at Nuremberg in two editions in 1493. Schedel's chronicle includes a Ptolemaic world map with a more extensive map of Africa than is to be found in the early editions of Ptolemy's geography.

An early map of Africa important in the cartographic study of the continent is found in the 1483 edition of Macrobius' *In somnium Scipionis expositio*, printed first at Brescia in 1483 and again in 1485; both editions are represented in the Rare Book Division. The circular map shows the Antipodes separated from the southern part of Africa by the Alveus Ocean, which the author believed was too hot for human beings to cross. When the Library acquired the earlier

Left, map from a 15th-century edition of Macrobius' *In somnium Scipionis expositio*, showing Africa separated from an unknown antipodal land by the Alveus Ocean.

Right, a page from the Sneyd Codex, containing an account of the voyage on which Pedro Alvarez Cabral rounded the Cape of Good Hope.

edition, I wrote in this *Journal* (May 1956) a statement that bears repeating: "What influence this map might have had upon the early explorers who sought a new trade route to the Indies cannot be established, but it is quite possible that the idea of an antipodal land beyond a torrid sea influenced some of the early navigators who endeavored to circumnavigate the land mass of Africa."

The *Hortus sanitatis*, printed at Mainz in 1491, is the first of several herbals having a supplementary section containing illustrated accounts of animals. Many of the species depicted are African, and the woodcuts, although small, are reasonably accurate representations of their subjects.

Among early Africana in the Library of Congress the most significant volume of all is the so-called Sneyd Codex, which is dated about 1503. Written in the Venetian dialect, this manuscript contains transcriptions by one Angelo Trevisan of accounts of navigations to America by Christopher Columbus, Pedro Alvarez Cabral's voyage to Brazil in 1500, and Vasco da Gama's celebrated voyage to India in 1497-98, during which he rounded the "capo di bona speranza"—the Cape of Good Hope. Many historians regard this as a much more significant achievement than the discovery of America since it effectively opened a new trade route to the Indies. On Cabral's voyage in 1500-1501 to India, during which he inadvertently reached Brazil, he also successfully rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The Sneyd Codex may well prove to contain the earliest surviving accounts of these early Portuguese voyagers who partially circumnavigated the continent of Africa. The same essential texts with important additions were later published in the *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo*, edited by Fracanzano da Montalboddo and printed at Vicenza in 1507. The additional text includes accounts of earlier explorations along the west coast of Africa by

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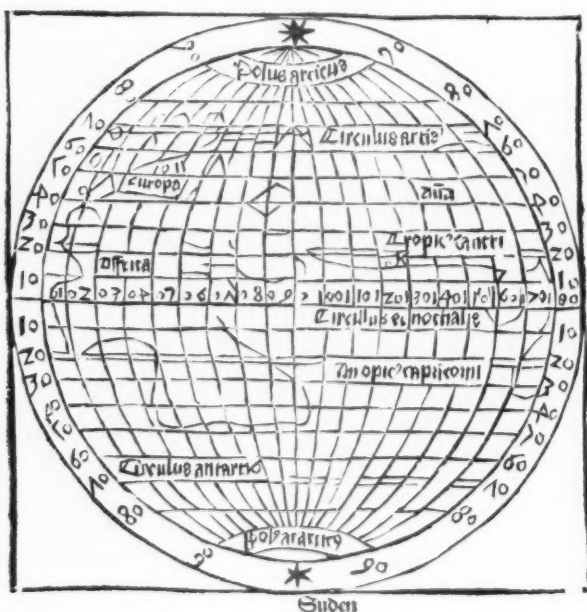
Copia de unalt^a l^{ra} del ungo dele carauelle del 8^{mo} Re de
portugallo andate a Colocut drizade al 5^{mo} Re et regn^a
de spagna

Tesea str^a (cunio)
Pedro Aluiz Capral Cap^o maza del 5^{mo} Re de portugal
se parti da l^{is}bona cū 13. naue l^{ino} del 1500 a 9 de
marzo et la octaua de pasqua seg^{te} arriuo a una terra
et nouiter discop^{ta} Ala qual pose nome .s. croce Nela
qual atrouo gente nude como nela p^a inoet^a m^aliu
te et pacifice Laqual paese et^l n^o 5^o die miraculo
sante uolse et se trouasse p^{er} la e molto guenete et ne
cessaria ala navigatione de idia Inp^o et el 930 le sue
naue et tolse aqua Et p^{er} rispetto del gran camino l^{ra}
ueua da fare n^o se reterme p^{er} i formarse dele cose d^e
dicta terra ma solamente iⁿio deli uno nauilio a l^{is}bon
a notifiare el trouar de q^{sta} terra e poi fece el suo
camino ma da capo de bona sp^aza et i q^l colfo p^a
arinasse adieto capo pati grandissimi torm^{ti} de mar
Adeset in uno solo giorno se reuerso da u^{nti} h or^h
soy. q. naue delequal n^o ne sc^o p^a alcuna essen^o i q^l
t^{po} 3a disse una l^{ra} naue dela spagna dela q^l fin
a hora n^o se ha haute noticia et cosi nauig^o cum
le altre che restoron passo a gr^{de} piccolo fino che l^{ra}
(chiloe regno) arriuo al regno de chiloe et e de mori sotola 5^{ta} dela q^l.

Cadamosto and Pedro de Cintra during the middle of the 15th century under the aegis of Prince Henry the Navigator.

Earlier we have alluded to the many 15th-century editions of the famous geography of Claudius Ptolemy in which those with the illustrated world map show Africa as it was well known in Ptolemy's time. The areas around the Mediterranean Sea and the upper eastern and western coasts are well delineated, but the extension of the eastern coastline encompasses the southern extremity of the Indian Ocean. Prince Henry the Navigator's support of maritime voyages, principally those of João Dias, Dinez Dias, and Cadamosto, had of course rendered this map obsolete by the middle of the 15th century, but it remained for Bartolomeu Dias to push further southward along the western coast during 1487 to that cape which he named Cape of Storms, but which his sovereign, King John II of Portugal, altered to Good Hope. Ten years later Vasco da Gama achieved the rounding of that cape the significance of which has already been alluded to.

Of exceptional interest is a four-leaf pamphlet in German entitled *Den rechten weg ausz zu*



Above, a double-page spread of the Ruysch world map from the edition of Ptolemy's geography printed at Rome in 1508.

Map from the early 16th-century *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren vo Liszbona gen Kallakuth*, notable for approximating the proper configuration of the continent of Africa.



faren vo Liszbona gen Kallakuth, an anonymous account of a voyage from Portugal to India which began in 1505. The verso of the first leaf carries a circular map, with the degrees of latitude indicated, showing Europe, Africa, and Asia. Dated ca. 1505, this is the earliest recorded published map which shows the proper configuration of the African continent.

The successful penetration of these uncharted seas by brave Portuguese sailors is also reflected in the famous Ruysch world map which accompanies the text of the edition of Ptolemy's geography printed at Rome by Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus in 1508. The Library possesses no less than three copies of this important map as it appears in this edition, one in the Map

Division and the other two in the Lessing J. Rosenwald and the John Boyd Thacher Collections in the Rare Book Division. According to Bradford Swan's definitive study of the map, published in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (1951), it exists in at least five states. Swan identifies the one in the Map Division as state 3 and those in the Rosenwald and Thacher Collections as states 4 and 5, respectively. Numerous editions of Ptolemy's geography that appeared throughout the 16th century furnished a cartographic presentation of the increasing knowledge of Africa as it accumulated during an active period of exploration and discovery.

Another map showing the African continent appears as the title page of a Latin edition of Fracanzano da Montalboddo's *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati*, published in 1508 in Milan with the title *Itinerarium Portugalesium e Lusitania in India*. The volume is dated the kalends of July 1508, which is two months earlier than the publication date of the 1508 Ptolemy, but at least one copy of a 1507 issue of the Ptolemy contains Ruysch's engraved world map. This suggests that the woodcut appearing on the title page of the 1503 *Itinerarium* is a later composition. Although Africa is poorly delineated, at least it is recognizable as a separate continent. The map's presence in the Milan edition suggests the importance that the Italian publisher placed on the explorations of the early Portuguese navigators as compared to those of Columbus and Vespucci, both of whom the Italians could justly claim. The Library of Congress possesses seven early 16th-century editions of Fracanzano da Montalboddo's *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati*: the one in Latin mentioned above; two copies, one in the Thacher Collection, of a German edition published at Nuremberg in 1508; and five Italian editions, published at Vicenza in 1507; Milan, 1512 (a recent addition to the Rosenwald Collection); Venice, 1517 (Rosenwald Collection); Milan, 1519 (Rosenwald Collection); and Venice, 1521.

Another book of travel containing early references to Africa is Lodovico Varthema's *Novum itinerarium Aethiopiae: Aegypti: utriusque Arabiae: Persidis: Siriae: ac India: intra et extra Gangem*, printed at Milan by J. J. Legano in 1511. An earlier edition in Italian appeared at Rome the year before but is not represented in



From André Thevet's *La Cosmographie universelle*.

the Library's collections. The author, an Italian nobleman, traveled to Africa and the East during the years 1502–8. On his way to the East he stopped briefly in Egypt and later he apparently visited Ethiopia. On his return from extensive travels in Asia he again went to Ethiopia and explored Mozambique. If his account is truthful, he returned to Europe via the Cape of Good Hope scarcely 10 years after Vasco da Gama rounded it. The Library of Congress has five other editions of his work, which is of primary significance for the study of early African history: two German editions published in Augsburg in 1515 and in Leipzig in 1610, and three Italian editions published in Venice in 1517, 1520, and 1535. The Venetian edition of 1520 has an appendix concerning Juan de Grijalva's expedition to Yucatan in 1518 written by his chaplain, Juan Diaz, and considered to be the first published account of any part of the mainland of North America. The Augsburg edition printed in 1515 is of especial interest, since it is illustrated with woodcuts which must be among the earliest devoted to Africa that are available in our collections. The seascapes are undoubtedly

figments of the artist's imagination, but a number of the woodcuts contain depictions of certain African animals that are definitely recognizable.

The circumnavigation of the world undertaken by Ferdinand Magellan was completed in 1522 by one of his ships after his death the previous year. The Library does not have the earliest published text of the account of this great voyage as recorded by Antonio Pigafetta, printed first in a French translation about 1525, although later printings are available in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni*, which will be treated later. A year or two before Pigafetta's account was published, however, an account of the successful conclusion of the voyage appeared in Cologne and in Rome in 1523, and again in Rome in 1524. This account takes the form of a letter written by Maximilianus Transylvanus and addressed to the Cardinal of Salzburg on October 22, 1522, a little more than six weeks after the return to Europe of one of the five vessels originally outfitted for the voyage. Admittedly the references to Africa are brief, but they are pertinent. The Library of Congress possesses copies of all three editions.

Joannes Leo Africanus' *Description of Africa* is an extensive account written by a Moor in Arabic and later translated into both Italian and French. It is regarded as the best authority on Muslim Africa of this period. Probably born about 1494 at Granada, the author traveled extensively in the Barbary States while still a very young man. During the years 1513–15 he made his famous Sudan and Sahara journeys, followed by three Egyptian journeys terminating about 1520, when he was captured by pirates and ultimately presented as a slave to Pope Leo X. The latter befriended him, converted him to Christianity, and named him Joannes Leo. He composed his text on Africa while in Rome under Leo X's patronage. Written in an Italian version in 1526, it was not published until it appeared in volume 1 of Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi*, printed at Venice in 1550 and again in 1554, 1563, and 1588. Copies of the first three of these editions are available in the Rare Book Division. This collection of voyages by Ramusio also contains accounts of the voyages of Cadamosto, Vasco da Gama, Francesco Alvares, who conducted an expedition to Ethiopia where he remained six years,

and Antonio Pigafetta, who accompanied Magellan and wrote the first detailed account of the circumnavigation of the world. Pages 281–289 of the 1550 edition contain the text of a discourse on the River Nile dedicated by Ramusio to Girolamo Fracastoro and preceded by a woodcut showing the location and extent of the river.

The 1554 edition of Ramusio's collection of voyages is embellished with three woodcut maps, the first of which is of Africa. It is a curious presentation, since the continent is depicted in the reverse position from its customary appearance in atlases. The Mediterranean Sea is located at the bottom of the woodcut with the Cape of Good Hope at the top.

The Rare Book Division also has a copy of Leo Africanus' work on Africa in its French translation, entitled *Historiale description de l'Afrique* and published at Antwerp by Jean Bellere in 1556, and a copy of the first English translation by John Pory, containing a preface of "places undescribed" by Leo Africanus and a supplement devoted to the great princes of Africa and their regions, printed at London for George Bishop in 1600. This volume carries as a frontispiece an attractive engraved map of Africa in its customary cartographic position.

André Thevet's *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique* is usually and correctly treated as a rare edition of Americana, but it also claims the attention of those interested in Africa's early history as written by Europeans. The rather short chapter 4 is entitled "De l'Afrique en particulier" and subsequent chapters relate to Ethiopia, the Canary Islands, Madeira, Cape Verde, Madagascar, and the Cape of Good Hope. There is also one reference to the development of the ivory trade by the Portuguese. The Library has an edition that appeared in Paris in 1557, one published in Antwerp in 1558, an Italian edition published in 1561, and an English edition published in London in 1568.

A later work by the same author is an imposing folio in two volumes entitled *La Cosmographie universelle*, published at Paris by Pierre L'Huilier in 1575. The first issue of the first edition is prefaced by a large and detailed woodcut map of Africa. The extensive text on Africa is found on leaves 1–148 of the first volume and is richly illustrated with woodcuts, some of which are fanciful but entertaining.

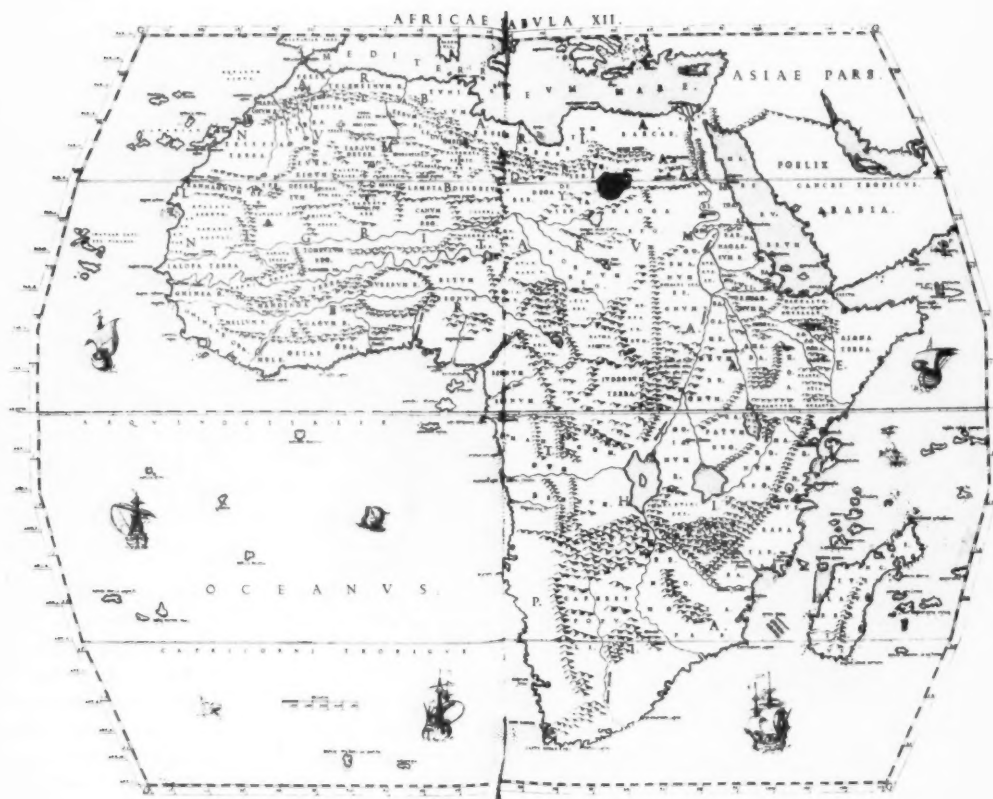
The continuing interest of the Portuguese in the continent to the south is reflected in two editions of João de Barros' *L'Asia*, published in Venice in 1561 and 1562. As the title indicates, the text deals primarily with Asia and the Portuguese interest therein, but there are several chapters that relate to the Congo and the explorations of Vasco da Gama and Pedro Alvarez Cabral.

In 1588 a large and important atlas devoted to the continent of Africa appeared at Venice from the press of Damiano Zenaro. The work of Livio Sanuto, the 12 engraved plates present Africa as it was understood at that time. The final map shows the entire continent, and the remaining 11 depict specific areas. A text of 146 leaves and several indexes of places and names compiled by Giovan Carlo Saracenus accompany the maps. Apparently the first printed atlas relating exclusively to that continent, it is regarded by some as the most important publication on Africa issued up to that time.

The earliest Dutch book on Africa that has been located in the Rare Book Division is Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Beschryvinghe van de gantsche Custe van Guinea, Manicongo, Angola, Monomotapa*, which was printed at Amsterdam by Cornelis Claesz in 1596. Despite the title the second and larger section of the text deals exclusively with America. The large engraved folding map that serves as frontispiece shows in great detail the southwestern coast of Africa and the easternmost tip of Brazil. The text also appeared as part 3 of a larger work concerning Linschoten's voyages, published at Amsterdam in 1596 by the same printer. The signatures and the lack of page numbers in the Library's copy indicate that this is the second edition, which may have been issued as an independent work.

An English translation by William Phillip of Linschoten's description of his voyage to Africa appeared in London in 1598. It was printed by John Wolfe as the second book of the *Discours of Voyages into the East and West*. The title page carries an engraved map of the kingdom of the Congo, and the text is illustrated with three large folding maps showing the African continent or parts thereof. The volume was so highly regarded that it was given to ships sailing to India for use in navigation.

Considering these early works relating to



Livio Sanuto's map of the entire continent from his 1588 atlas, apparently the first one devoted exclusively to Africa. Published at Venice by Damiano Zenaro, the volume contains a 146-page text and indexes as well as 11 other maps of parts of Africa and shows the extent of knowledge about the continent at that time.

Africa, one is struck by the fact that most of Africa was a world virtually unknown to Europeans until the end of the 15th century. As in America, explorations and exploitations were pushing back frontiers and constantly yielding new discoveries. The essential difference was in the nationality of the principal navigators. The New World remained largely the province of Spain, although her primacy was increasingly threatened by England and France, whereas Africa came almost exclusively under Portuguese domination. Alexander VI's "Bull of Demarcation" of 1493, which divided the newly discovered lands to the south and west between Spain and Portugal, appears to have worked to the ad-

vantage of both nations. The Library, incidentally, has one of the four surviving copies of the first printing at Alcalá about 1511 of this important document. It is not surprising that much of the published writing about voyages of exploration to both these areas of the world frequently dovetailed or was combined.

In concluding we can do no better than quote from Richard Eden's brief description of Africa which appears on page 321 of *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* compiled by Richard Hakluyt and published in London in 1599: "And to have said thus much of Afrike it may suffice."

RECENT AMERICAN WORKS ON NORTHWESTERN AFRICA

by George N. Atiyeh

Northwestern Africa, or al-Maghreb, as it is named in Arabic, is a region that has attracted only slight interest from the American public or the American scholarly community. Fortunately, this situation is changing, even though slowly. This paper surveys the American literature of the last two decades on the subject and attempts to show that it has significantly enriched the field by introducing new methods of study, new perspectives, and original interpretations of Northwestern African history and culture.

Hitherto the French, because of their political involvement, have surpassed any other nation in the study of Northwestern Africa. They have produced outstanding works by great scholars: Évariste Levi-Provençal, Roger Le Tourneau, Jacques Berque, Robert Mantran, and many others. Yet recent American works, although they differ in emphasis and character, vie with the French. Reflecting a spirit of youthfulness, a vivacity in understanding, and a daring in meth-

odology and approach rarely found in the works of their Gallic counterparts, the American contributions of the last two decades have become an indispensable part of the literature on the area. Particularly in the political and social fields, they have acquired such importance that any serious study of the subject must take them into consideration. American scholars have stressed recent political and social changes that are taking place rather than anthropology. They have added to our knowledge of Northwestern Africa and, by their comparative and analytical approach, have shed new light on the processes and patterns of change and modernization that are transforming the less developed countries.

For purposes of their survey Northwestern Africa is defined as the region lying north of the Sahara Desert and west of the Gulf of Sidra, and

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including Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, which constitute the western segment of the Arab World. Egypt, which is considered by most scholars to be part of the eastern segment, will not be considered here, nor will Libya, although its western province, Tripolitania, is close physically and culturally to the Maghreb states.

The close relations of the United States to Northwestern Africa, particularly to Morocco and Tunisia, may be said to have started only recently, during the 1950's. This part of Africa, known as the Barbary Coast when the United States came into conflict with its inhabitants in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, has produced in the popular imagination a picture of an exotic society. During the Second World War, after a long span of limited or no relations, the American Forces landed in Algeria in the first drive to upset the German military victories in Europe. In the fifties and sixties the Americans became interested in acquiring bases in Morocco and in supplying aid and arms to Tunisia. The American Government was reluctant, however, to support the movements for independence for fear of antagonizing France, a member of NATO and a traditional ally. But then the support given by labor to the Algerian Revolution, the interest shown by then Vice President Nixon in Tunisian affairs, and a revival of friendly relations with Morocco brought these states once again into the focus of American public attention.

The growing interest in Northwestern Africa was reflected in the increasing amount of literature on the area published in the United States. "A Selective Survey of the Literature in the Social Sciences and Related Fields on Modern North Africa," by B. Rivlin, published in the *American Political Science Review* for September 1954 (vol. 48), may serve as an indicator of the preponderance of French and European materials over American. However, if we were to update Professor Rivlin's bibliography today, the number of American works that might be included would reach an impressive total.

On North Africa as a whole, little has been written. Two works may be singled out as the most valuable. One is an essay by Charles F. Gallagher, *The United States and North Africa: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); the other is *State and Society in Independent North Africa*, edited by Leon Carl

Brown (Washington, 1966). Mr. Gallagher's short book devotes little space to the relations of the United States to Northwestern Africa, but, since he lived in the area for about 10 years, he is highly successful in capturing the spirit and the essence of the community and culture. The author presents the Maghreb as a unit and by a process of comparisons, analysis, and observation paints a realistic picture of the history and values of the region. Mr. Brown has edited a collective work, the result of a Middle East Institute conference that took place in 1965. It contains 14 separate essays, including the introduction by the editor. The essays, displaying an organic unity rarely found in such collective works, deal with a number of the most basic cultural and social problems facing the North African states, such as the role of the Islamic religion and of the Arabic language in the future development of the area. Furthermore, they discuss the problems facing the planners of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya in building a better and a modernized society within the framework of their Islamic and Arabic heritage.

Jane Soames Nickerson wrote *A Short History of North Africa, from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (New York, 1960), covering in less than 250 pages the past, present, and the foreseeable future. She gives a brief overview of remote antiquity, the Africa Romana, the Islamic period, the Barbary corsairs, the colonial period, and the present situation. She foresees that the best hope for the Maghreb states lies in their federation. Ronald Steel has compiled for the Reference Shelf Series a volume of essays entitled *North Africa* (New York, 1967). He links a motley collection of articles from magazines and newspapers by short introductions to the different sections of the book, which include the Maghreb as a whole, Islam, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya. This is not a scholarly work but it offers the general reader a wealth of information and a colorful mosaic of points of view. Another short and informative work is Richard M. Brace's *Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964). The author is a specialist in French constitutional history, but he and his wife have taken great interest in Maghreb affairs. This volume was published in the Modern Nations in Historical Perspective Series and is the useful introductory work the author meant it to be.

In the field of politics, I. William Zartman's *Government and Politics in Northern Africa* (New York, 1963) is a textbook covering in 182 pages all of geographic North Africa, including Egypt. Regrettably, the book is too brief; the minimum amount of detail necessary to give a work scholarly significance is absent. As the title indicates, Lorna Hahn's *North Africa, Nationalism to Nationhood* (Washington, 1960) deals with the rise of nationalism and the struggle for self-affirmation, but the book is journalistic in style and does not contribute anything that is not found in the French sources. *The Greater Maghreb: From Independence to Unity?* by George Liska (Washington, 1963) is a short work that examines the possibility and conditions for political unity. Finally, mention should be made of Manfred Halpern's *Politics and Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa* (Princeton, 1963). This essay by a Princeton professor does not deal exclusively with Northwestern Africa, but because of Professor Halpern's intellectual bent, his special interest in the region, and his analysis of the political and social changes occurring there, this work should be included in our survey. A short study by David C. Gordon, *North Africa's French Legacy, 1954-1962* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962) succeeds in presenting the French-Northwestern African relations at the height of tension in an objective manner and deserves a special place in the American literature on the area.

Morocco

American scholarly interests in Morocco are perhaps best represented by Carleton S. Coon, whose book *Caravan* (London, 1952) deals with the entire Islamic world but has unusually illuminating sections on Northwestern African culture. His book *Tribes of the Rif* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931) is an outstanding specialized study of Northern Morocco, its people and culture. A more recent study of the same area is Marvin W. Mikesell's *Northern Morocco: a Cultural Geography* (Berkeley, 1961), a survey of the population, resources, and general cultural traits of the region.

Probably the most significant contributions of the two decades under survey come from two young scholars, Douglas E. Ashford and

I. William Zartman. Many people do not agree with their approach, which is that of the political scientist; however, one cannot but be impressed by their works. Professor Ashford's earliest book, *Political Change in Morocco* (Princeton, 1961), is a pacesetter in that it purports to study universal problems through particular cases. Its analysis of the developments in the Moroccan political scene from 1955 to 1959 makes the study relevant to political change in general and to such processes in less developed countries in particular. His second work, *Perspectives of a Moroccan Nationalist* (Totowa, N.J., 1964), applies the survey technique. While the author was in Morocco, he sent questionnaires to local Istiqlāl party leaders; about a quarter replied. The questionnaires judged to be complete were analyzed and the results presented in this work. Some of the interesting discoveries were that the Istiqlāl party was not merely a group of Muslim scholars, as believed until then, and that the less educated members usually aspired to and were able to win the higher positions. The third important work by Ashford does not deal with Morocco alone. In *National Development and Local Reform in Morocco, Tunisia and Pakistan* (Princeton, 1967), the author sets out to study government structures and functions in developing countries and the participation of the local communities in such functions from the point of view of political science. He describes what occurs between the governed and the governor and then inquires into the relationship between participation and ideology. His conclusions are in part that there is no "ideal mix of attitudinal components and the readiness of the government to elicit new forms of participation." The book has an extensive bibliography.

I. William Zartman's contribution consists of two books: *Problems of New Power: Morocco* (New York, 1964) and *Destiny of a Dynasty: The Search for Institutions in Morocco's Developing Society* (Columbia, S.C., 1964). In the first he examines five basic problems facing Moroccan society and government: the evacuation of American bases, the organization of the Army, agrarian reform, the "Arabization" of primary and secondary education, and the conduct of Morocco's first election after independence. Zartman analyzes decision-making processes as they occur in developing countries. The second

book deals with efforts of the monarchy to develop a solid institutional structure that would provide stability without stunting the growth of the country and its democratic system.

A most useful introduction to the politics and recent history of Morocco is found in Mark I. Cohen and Lorna Hahn's *Morocco: Old Land, New Nation* (New York, 1965). The authors attempt to clarify the paradoxes apparent in a "multi-party monarchy in an age and area of one-party republics, ruled in an authoritarian yet often haphazard manner by a government that has tended to be cautious at home but aggressive abroad." The book contains a chapter on United States-Moroccan relations and appends a series of basic documents.

In the field of history, a number of books have appeared, some outstanding and scholarly, others less so. One of the books addressed to the general public is Eleanor Hoffmann's *Realm of the Evening Star; a History of Morocco and the Lands of the Moors* (Philadelphia, 1965), which covers the history of Morocco from its beginnings to the present. The general reader may get a lot of pleasure out of its many anecdotes and illustrations.

Perhaps the most solid scholarly works to appear recently are John P. Halstead's *Rebirth of a Nation; the Origins and Rise of Moroccan Nationalism, 1912-1944* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), and David S. Woolman's *Rebels in the Rif: Abd El-Kerim and the Rif Rebellion* (Stanford, 1968). The first is a work based on research done in Morocco using heretofore unpublished materials. The author presents a comprehensive account of Moroccan-French relations in his examination of the forces, organizations, and personalities that shaped the nationalist movement of Morocco. The second is the story of the Rifi leader Abd El-Kerim, who defeated Spain; had it not been for French intervention, he would have succeeded in liberating North Morocco, at least, from the yoke of colonization.

Although British by birth, Rom Landau has lived in the United States long enough to be included among the American authors. Among his many works on Morocco we shall mention only his *Moroccan Drama* (San Francisco, 1956) and *Morocco Independent Under Mohammad V* (London, 1961). The first is a history of Morocco from 1900 to 1955; the second is an account of

the early years of independence and the personalities who made independence viable.

Finally, the economy of modern Morocco from 1912 to 1962 was studied by Charles F. Stuart in his *Economy of Morocco* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

Algeria

Although there have been a number of works on the Algerian Revolution (1954-62), the American contribution to the study of other aspects of modern Algeria, that is, its history, politics, and culture, has been extremely small, perhaps because to most Americans Algeria was a part of France and was dealt with as such.

On the subject of the revolution, we will discuss only five books, all written while the revolution was still going on. Each represents a different position, and each shows a varied degree of personal involvement. Michael K. Clark's *Algeria in Turmoil* (New York, 1959) chronicles the Algerian story from 1943 to 1958 with brief flashbacks to the French conquest and to the early stirrings of Algerian nationalism before World War II. But the book is not confined to narrative; it also analyzes the causes of the revolution and its possible consequences and advances the thesis that the Algerian case has no precedent and that therefore the French presence in Algeria may be justified. The author apologizes for taking a position contrary to the American anti-colonialist tradition, but he believes that the European settlers deserve to remain the dominant force if not the masters in Algeria.

Diametrically opposed to this position is Richard and Joan Brace's *Ordeal in Algeria* (Princeton, 1960). Professor Brace and his wife were perhaps the first Americans to present the Algerian viewpoint in this country. They analyze the Algerian problem and present the Arab and French cases. Tracing the history of the country and the nationalist movement as far back as the First World War, they describe the beginning of the revolution and the Gaullist takeover on May 13, 1958, and defend the principles of a just peace and self-determination. In another book, *Algerian Voices* (Princeton, 1965), the same authors relate their experiences during two visits to the revolutionary forces in Tunisia in the midst of the revolution. Also sympathetic to

the Algerian revolution, Joan Gillespie's *Algeria, Rebellion and Revolution* (New York, 1960) studies the forces and events that produced the nationalist resort to force in 1954 and the years of revolution up to 1960. Especially of value are the details of the changing structure and strategy of the nationalist organization. Joseph Kraft, a speechwriter for President Kennedy's campaign in 1960, in *The Struggle for Algeria* (New York, 1961) gives a balanced presentation of both the French and Algerian positions. William George Andrews' *French Politics and Algeria; the Process of Policy Formation, 1954-1962* (New York, 1962), is mainly concerned with the internal politics in France generated in response to the Algerian revolution and the Algerian question as a whole. His scholarly work sheds illuminating new light on the processes of French politics as it deals with the attempts of the French to resolve the Algerian problem. Professor Andrews gives special attention to the efforts to find a "political" solution, that is, to reform the existing Algerian political governmental structure. The early reforms are treated in Vincent Confer's *France and Algeria; the Problem of Civil and Political Reform, 1870-1920* (Syracuse, 1966), a study of the middle years of French power in Algeria and in particular of the reforms introduced between 1911 and 1920. The author believes that during this period the French and Algerians approached a balance of mutual understanding which, if it had been carried to its logical conclusion, would have facilitated a harmonious political evolution.

Two significant studies on Algeria have been written by David C. Gordon: *The Passing of French Algeria* (London, 1966) and *Women of Algeria; an Essay on Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). The first work is an analytical history of independent Algeria. Professor Gordon, who is a history professor at the American University of Beirut, has had extensive firsthand experience in the Middle East and North Africa and therefore is particularly qualified to write on this subject. He explains in this book the causes, motivations, ideals, and circumstances that led to revolution and independence. His chapters "Revolution and Identity" and "Revolution and Culture" are unique; heretofore nobody in the United States has presented so concisely and clearly the ideas, ideals, and aspirations for inde-

pendence and dignity of Frantz Fanon and the other Algerian intellectuals. In the second book the author describes the present-day status of the Algerian woman against the background of her traditional way of life. He also gives a brief account of feminist movements in other Islamic countries, discusses woman's role during the revolution, and concludes that women in Algeria are not yet completely emancipated but that they are moving in the direction of modernity.

Mention should be made of *Oasis and Casbah: Algerian Culture and Personality in Change* (Ann Arbor, 1960), an anthropological study by Horace M. Miner and George De Vos. *The New Algeria* by Joachim Joesten (Chicago, 1964) is a study of Algeria and its problems after independence. Jacques R. Goutor's *Algeria and France, 1830-1963* (Muncie, Ind., 1965) is a short but scholarly work.

Two scholarly books on Algeria were published in 1969: William B. Quandt's *Revolution and Political Leadership: Algeria, 1954-1968* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), and David and Mariana Ottoway's *Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution* (Berkeley, 1969). Professor Quandt's book is a study of the historical and political changes in the leadership of the Algerian revolution and government. He examines the ideological, tribal, and personal motives that were instrumental in these changes. The Ottoways' book is a political history of Algeria. The authors contend that ideologies and foreign models have played only a secondary role in the political behavior of the Algerian leaders, who have been influenced by an indigenous political spirit that has given the country a peculiar form of socialism.

Tunisia

Among the three African states under survey, the most appealing to American writers seems to be Tunisia. The reason might lie in its stable and cohesive society and in the struggle of the Tunisians to overcome the adversities of underdevelopment in a poorly endowed country. Space does not allow us to include all the American contributions on Tunisia; instead we refer the reader to Paul E. A. Romeril's bibliographical article in *The Middle East Journal* (14: 205-215, Spring 1960).

Five recent works seem to us to be outstanding. Focusing on forces and trends in modernization, *Tunisia: The Politics of Modernization* (New York, 1964), by Charles A. Micaud et al., is divided into three parts dealing with the impact of French colonization and the reasons why the Tunisian intellectuals responded the way they did; the political system as it has evolved since 1934 with the creation of the Neo-Destour Party; and finally an evaluation of the social and economic changes since independence was gained in 1956. Clement Henry Moore's *Tunisia Since Independence; the Dynamics of One-Party Government* (Berkeley, 1965) is a skillful analysis of all aspects of the Tunisian Republic. The author believes that Tunisia provides one of the most successful illustrations to date of a politics of modernization based upon a single mass party. He therefore tries to explain the historical conditions that made permissive party rule possible. He analyzes Habib Bourguiba's role as a hero and as a politician, describes the party as the government's alter ego and shows how its organization reaches into the villages of Tunisia, and discusses the alternatives open to a mass party regime. Dwight D. Ling's *Tunisia, From Protectorate to Republic* (Bloomington, Ind., 1967) attempts to answer the question: what factors

combine to make a nation, especially when the area has been dominated by a European power for decades? After presenting an account of the French Protectorate, the author discusses the impact of French culture, the struggle for independence, and, once independence was won, the struggle against a more difficult enemy, underdevelopment. Willard A. Beling's *Modernization and African Labor; a Tunisian Case Study* (New York, 1966) is concerned mainly with the international relations of the Tunisian labor movement as a case study illustrating general patterns of internal relations characteristic of African labor. He offers the thesis that these relations have been determined on the basis of nationalism rather than ideological considerations. Finally, Leon Carl Brown provides a unique contribution in the translation of the introduction to *The Surest Path to Knowledge Concerning the Condition of Countries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), which is a political treatise by a 19th-century Muslim statesman from Tunisia, Khayr al-Dīn al-Tunisi.

In conclusion our survey indicates that studies of Northwestern Africa have been increasing in the United States and that they show promise of overcoming the faults of either too much specialization or too much generalization.

AFRICAN RECORDINGS IN THE ARCHIVE OF FOLK SONG

by Alan Jabbour and Joseph C. Hickerson

Robert W. Gordon's large private collection of folksong manuscripts and cylinders formed the nucleus of the Archive of Folk Song when it was established in the Music Division of the Library in 1928. During the 1930's the Archive was enriched by more than 3,000 field recordings made by John and Alan Lomax and by the product of large-scale recording expeditions that operated with assistance from private foundations and Government agencies. Since 1940 many recording trips by outstanding collectors have further increased the Archive's holdings. At present they consist of approximately 20,000 field recordings—cylinders, discs, wire spools, and tapes—containing over 80,000 items of folksong, folk music, folktale, oral history, and other types of folklore. In addition to material from almost every region of the United States, the collections include specimens of traditional music recorded among many of the peoples of Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Through exchanging its albums of published folk music with other institutions and through the generosity of foreign broadcasting stations, the Archive of Folk Song has received a variety of material published abroad. In addition there are several large field collections from various foreign countries. At present approximately 40 percent of the holdings are in languages other than English, and approximately 20 percent are from abroad.

Historically, the Archive of Folk Song has concentrated primarily on collecting Americana; as a result, few recordings of African music were accessioned until the late 1940's. Since then its African holdings have increased substantially. Although the total representation is necessarily spotty for such a large, varied, and sparsely re-

corded continent, several extensive collections contain extremely valuable source materials for the nations or regions they represent, and the smaller collections can be useful to the area specialist.

The Erich M. von Hornbostel Demonstration Collection, the first recorded anthology of non-Western music ever assembled, contains the earliest recordings of African music and folklore in the Archive. Dr. von Hornbostel was director of the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin from 1905 until his emigration to the United States in 1934. This pioneering archive and research center for recordings of world music was organized by Carl Stumpf just after the turn of the century and was housed for many years in the Psychological Institute of the University of Berlin.¹ With the encouragement of the Phonogramm-Archiv and the Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde, a multitude of ethnographers, missionaries, and colonial officials began to include cylinder recording machines with their field equipment and collected a large sampling of music of various peoples from around the world. By 1910, equipment for making copper negatives of cylinders and producing copies for archival and research purposes was available to Dr. von Hornbostel and his colleagues.

After World War I, Dr. von Hornbostel made selections from the Phonogramm-Archiv, by that time grown to vast dimensions, for what he called his Demonstration Collection. This collection consisted of 120 molded cylinders available for

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purchase in sets by scholars and research institutions around the world.² One such set was obtained in 1919 by the late Dr. Walter Vandyke Bingham, a noted psychologist whose early research included inquiries into the nature of musical phenomena. In 1943 Dr. Bingham gave his collection to the Archive of Folk Song, where it has been copied onto tapes on 10-inch reels for preservation purposes. Forty-five cylinders in the Bingham set contain African material, recorded between 1902 and 1913 by such collectors as Bernhard Ankermann (Cameroons), Father Bachmann (East Africa), Jan Czekanowski (Ruanda), K. E. Lanan (Congo), Carl Meinhoff (East Africa), Captain Seyfried (East Africa), 1st Lieutenant Smend (Togo), Günther Tessmann (Spanish Guinea), Paul Träger (Tunisia), Felix von Luschan (South Africa), and Dr. von Hornbostel (Somali).

Some of its most important ethnological recordings were donated to the Archive of Folk Song by Helen H. Roberts. During the 1920's and 1930's Miss Roberts embarked on several field collecting projects, notably in Jamaica, Hawaii, and the American Southwest. At the Anthropological Laboratory of Yale University she added to her collections numerous recordings made by others, mostly on cylinders, by duplicating their contents onto aluminum discs. Miss Roberts' substantial donations to the Archive in 1936-37 and 1955 included two African collections, both noteworthy although somewhat lacking in documentation.

The first of these collections consists of seven discs containing 20 dance, war, and burial songs, native hymns, and flute melodies from the Chewa and Ngoni of Nyasaland. These were recorded by John George Steytler, an African-born non-black who was principal of the Normal School, Dutch Reformed Church Mission, Mkhoma, Nyasaland. He attended Yale University in 1935-36 and received a Ph.D. degree from Cornell University in 1937. Although not a professional musicologist, Dr. Steytler showed a broad knowledge of the problems of comparative musicology in his discussion of music in chapter 7 of his book *Educational Adaptations with Reference to African Village Schools, With Special Reference to Central Nyasaland* (London, 1939). Six of the seven disc recordings are originals and are almost totally deteriorated. Fortunately, four

of the songs are preserved on an aluminum copy made by Miss Roberts.

Documentation accompanying a group of 13 cylinder recordings in the Roberts Collection indicates only that the collector was named Barnes and that the performers were of the Kavirondo, Kikuyu, and Meru peoples of Kenya. These recordings were most likely made by James Barnes, perhaps on his 1913 safari with photographer Cherry Kearton through British East Africa and the Belgian Congo, which he described in his book *Through Central Africa From Coast to Coast* (New York, 1915).

The Paul Bowles collection of Moroccan music consists of 60 tapes on 7-inch reels (about 60 hours) recorded from August 1 to December 18, 1959, with the assistance of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, five 7-inch tapes of selections from the collection, and five additional 7-inch tapes accessioned in 1963. The main collection was recorded in 23 villages and towns along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of Morocco and inland in the Middle Atlas, Grand Atlas, and Anti-Atlas regions. Only the southeastern region was omitted in the project, because of the political situation at the time. The acoustical quality of the recordings is good, especially considering the date and the awkward circumstances of the field sessions. The extensive field notes (about 130 pages) and the voluminous correspondence with the Archive are doubly valuable because of Mr. Bowles' stature as a composer and writer.

The recordings in the Bowles collection are as varied as the culture of Morocco itself. Vocal music, instrumental music, and the dance are all represented. The performers range from town professionals to rural and nomadic musicians. The collection includes secular music, music for Ramadan and other Islamic rites, and music for animistic rituals. Berber and Arab music predominate, but a considerable variety of styles emerges from the survey of different areas and tribes. Some selections exhibit traces of what Mr. Bowles calls the antique Andalusian style, reflecting Morocco's historic relationship to Spain, and the influence of the migrations and cultural interchanges across the Sahara and along the Atlantic coast is apparent in musical examples from Mauritania, West Africa, and the Sudan. Mr. Bowles was also able to record examples



Musicians in Segangan, northeastern Morocco, photographed by Paul Bowles.

of Sephardic liturgical music and other folk-songs from the historic Jewish communities in Essaouira and Meknès. The Archive looks forward to issuing some of the Bowles collection for purchase by the public in the near future.

In addition to the Bowles collection of Moroccan music, the Archive houses three smaller collections of material from Mediterranean Africa. A 7-inch tape of music recorded in Marrakech, Morocco, by Donald Kissil in 1962 supplements the Bowles collection in that area. Setting up his equipment in local places of entertainment, Mr. Kissil recorded performers ranging from professional entertainers to local farmers to visiting nomads. Miss Amice Calverley presented four 16-inch discs of Egyptian music to the Archive. And John B. Fergusson contributed an interesting sample of Mediterranean cultural flux and interchange, a 10-inch tape of Greek folk music recorded in Alexandria, Egypt.

The Darius Thieme collection, duplicated for the Archive on thirty 10-inch tapes from over 115 original tapes, is a splendid cross section of music from western Nigeria. Mr. Thieme is a former employee of the Music Division of the Library of Congress; while at the Library he compiled *African Music; a Briefly Annotated*

Bibliography (Washington, 1964), a standard reference work on the subject. He carried out field research in the music and musical instruments of the Yoruba in western Nigeria from 1964 to 1966. His success as a collector is reflected in his correspondence, which describes at one point his formal initiation into a fraternity of drummers. His tapes, made on a Nagra recorder, are excellent acoustically. They document the musical life of the Yoruba in careful detail, featuring vocal and instrumental music of an amazing variety and preserving a number of the ceremonies of various groups. Some examples of other types of lore, such as proverbs, are included. Mr. Thieme also diligently collected musical instruments of western Nigeria, and part of his collection of instruments is now in the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History, together with various textiles and utensils he acquired during his sojourn in Nigeria.

The Archive also contains a splendid collection, recorded by Halim El-Dabh, of Ethiopian music and music of Mali and Senegal. Mr. El-Dabh, a native of Egypt who is now a composer and ethnomusicologist in the United States, assembled his Ethiopian recordings in 1964 while serving as conductor and composer at the Crea-

tive Arts Center of Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa. Deeply committed to a cross-fertilization of traditional musical styles and modern modes of composition, he organized in Addis Ababa a group of traditional musicians who called themselves Orchestra Ethiopia; under his direction the group strove to amalgamate various Ethiopian traditional styles and to create a dynamic, modern musical synthesis. His field collection of 95 tapes, duplicated on twenty-two 10-inch reels for preservation in the Archive, ranges from Coptic religious music and ceremonies to secular songs and instrumental music from many areas of Ethiopia. Included also is a recording of Orchestra Ethiopia under his direction. The second part of his collection consists of seven 10-inch tapes of music of Mali and Senegal recorded in the summer of 1967.

The work of Arthur S. Alberts is well known to students of African music through his publication in 1950 of a set of twelve 78-rpm discs entitled *Tribal, Folk and Cafe Music of West Africa* (Field Recordings label). Selected from a large collection of field recordings taped by Mr. Alberts and his wife in West Africa during the first half of 1949, the set was issued with an accompanying pamphlet containing commentary by Mr. Alberts, Duncan Emrich, who was Head of the Archive at the time, and three noted specialists in African and Afro-American music: Melville J. Herskovits, Richard A. Waterman, and Marshall W. Stearns. Two longplaying recordings on the Riverside label (RLP 4001 and 4003) present much of the same material. The Archive of Folk Song contains many more recordings made by Mr. Alberts. Two 16-inch discs recorded by Alberts and Frink in 1942 or 1943, which present war songs and music of various Gold Coast tribes interspersed with commentary, were given to the Archive by the Office of War Information. Mr. Alberts gave the Archive a set of twenty-four 7-inch tapes described as "the complete recordings made by Arthur S. Alberts of the folk and cafe music of West Africa," three 7-inch tapes of the selections published in the 78-rpm set, and five 7-inch tapes of other material from the Gold Coast. All these tapes were accessioned between 1950 and 1955. His field notes in the Archive's files include a lengthy description of his eventful and sometimes hair-raising 1949 trip through West Africa

in a jeep that housed all the recording equipment.

One of the interesting small collections in the Archive is a group of nine 12-inch discs recorded by Hugh Tracey at Durban, Natal, South Africa, in March 1946. Mr. Tracey has been perhaps the most indefatigable collector of and commentator on sub-Saharan African music in this century. His books, articles, and recordings are well known to every scholar in the field of African music. This particular collection and the thorough introduction and notes that accompany it reflect the principles that have always distinguished his work: documentation, analysis, and promulgation of native African musical styles and a war against the encroachment of European musical styles on the African continent. The collection features South African Bantu music, including items from the Zulu, Xhosa, Chopi, and Sotho tribes. The music ranges from instrumental to solo vocal to choral and runs the full gamut—amply discussed by Mr. Tracey—from the unadulterated South African to music strongly influenced by European norms. The instrumental selections are a tune played on a wind instrument, another on a musical bow, three pipe tunes played by Zulu herd boys, and several pieces played by a timbila (xylophone) orchestra. The vocal music consists of dancing songs, Euro-African glees, songs of African Christian sects, urban African songs in a Euro-African style with interesting social commentary, lullabies, and various "country songs." The 23 pages of accompanying notes make the collection very useful to researchers.

The U.S. Information Agency and its Voice of America programs have donated several collections to the Library of Congress. They include a 7-inch tape of African songs composed by Henry Serukenya, recorded in Kampala, Uganda, in August 1960; two 7-inch tapes of music from Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, including a recording of the ceremony of the "False Departure" of the Moro Naba, king of the Mossi tribe; a 7-inch tape of Somali songs and dances recorded by Blake W. Robinson, from August 2 to 4, 1959, in Afgoi and Uanle Uen, Somali Republic; a 7-inch tape of the Nyatsime College Choir, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, containing six Shona songs; three 7-inch tapes of tribal music of Dahomey; and one 7-inch

tape from the Niamey National Museum representing music of the Hausa tribe. These tapes range from items of passing interest to material of considerable significance.

The three 7-inch and three 5-inch tapes recorded and contributed to the Archive by Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Sweeney are a heterogeneous collection of African music. Included is music of the Tutsi tribe; music of the Zulu in Natal, South Africa; a recording of a West African group at Tamale, Gold Coast; an Ethiopian coronation anniversary; and music from the Congo.

The three other noncommercial recordings of African material in the Archive are a 7-inch tape of Swahili songs recorded in Namupa, Tanganyika, October 16, 1963, and donated by Rudolph F. Schaeffer; a tape of native songs of Uganda sung in the Library's Recording Studio by Rev. and Mrs. Dunstan K. Nsubuga; and a 10-inch tape of songs and instrumental music of the Lango tribe in Uganda, recorded in 1954 by Caldwell Smith.

Although the Archive's collection consists almost totally of noncommercial recordings, a number of commercial discs were accessioned through exchange programs with foreign recording companies or duplication of foreign commercial recordings lent by private collectors. A collection acquired in exchange with Phonothèque Nationale includes six 10-inch discs of African music in the series "Chants de travail, d'amour, de guerre et de magie des Pays de la France d'Outre-mer." Many African discs were acquired through an extended exchange project with the Musée de l'Homme: 30 recordings of the music of Madagascar, 32 of music of the Congo, 100 of music on the Africavox label recorded in various parts of West Africa and Equatorial Africa, and four longplaying recordings from French Guinea, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, and Bantu areas. Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (Diamang) contributed five 10-inch tapes of music of the Chokwe people, Lóvu area, Lunda District, Angola, and six 10-inch reels of music of the Chokwe people in the Camissombo area of the same District. Eleven 10-inch discs issued by Philips, featuring music and dances of Dahomey, Togo, and the Gold Coast, were given to the Archive by M. Aime Darot, the collector. And sixteen 10-inch discs

of Yoruba and Ibo music from West Africa were duplicated from discs lent by William Bascom in 1943.

Other commercial recordings of African music in the Library of Congress are in the Music Division's Recorded Sound Section, which houses most longplaying recordings issued by American companies, a large collection of 78-rpm discs, and an impressive collection of longplaying recordings issued abroad. These discs are shelved numerically under the name of the recording company. Most of the Decca Music of Africa series, the African Music Society's Sound of Africa series (International Library of African Music), and the Gallotone Music of Africa series—all a product of Hugh Tracey's activities in the field of African music—are in the Recorded Sound Section. The Section also holds most of the Folkways series of African music, the UNESCO Anthology of African Music on the Bärenreiter label, the OCORA recordings issued in Paris, and many smaller series or single issues containing important recordings of African music on both longplaying and older 78-rpm discs.

Thanks to a lengthy duplication project carried out with the assistance of the Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund for Music, Inc., many of the recordings in the Archive of Folk Song are available for audition by appointment, as are the commercial discs in the Recorded Sound Section. It is also possible in many cases to obtain tape copies of Archive recordings for research purposes with the permission of the collector.

It should be mentioned that the comparative researcher interested in the influence of Africa on New World musical styles will find ample material for such study in the thousands of field recordings of Afro-American music from the United States, the Caribbean, and South America in the Archive of Folk Song. Here again the Recorded Sound Section's holdings in commercial discs complement the Archive's recordings for purposes of scholarly research.

NOTES

¹ Two recent articles by Kurt Reinhard describe the history of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv: one in *Folklore and Folk Music Archivist*, vol. 5, no. 2, summer 1962; and the other in *Recorded Sound*, 1:44-45 (June 1961).

² A set of two longplaying recordings, consisting of 42 of the 120 examples, has been issued on Folkways Records no. 4175, "The Demonstration Collection of E. M. von Hornbostel and the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv" (New York, 1963), with extensive commen-

taries by Kurt Reinhard and George List. This release is based on sets of the Demonstration Collection obtained by Henry Cowell and George Herzog in 1931 and 1932, by which time the content of the collection may have altered somewhat.

Some Recent Publications of the Library of Congress¹

American Doctoral Dissertations on the Arab World, 1883-1968, compiled by George Dimitri Selim of the Near East Section, Orientalia Division. 103 p. 55 cents. This publication lists doctoral dissertations on all subjects related to the Arab World accepted by universities in the United States and Canada in the years specified. The Arab World is taken to include all the Arabic-speaking countries of the Near East and North Africa and other communities where Arabic is spoken. Titles related to Islam as a religion regardless of the part of the world involved are also listed. The time period covered by the dissertations extends mainly from the rise of Islam to the present, although a few of them relate to the Arabian Peninsula in the pre-Islamic period. An appendix lists dissertations dealing with the Middle or Near East as a unit, and an index based on

the major subject of a dissertation and key words in the title completes the volume.

Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1969. 161 p. \$3.50. Free to libraries upon request to the Library of Congress, Central Services Division, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Antarctic Bibliography, 1951-1961, prepared by the Science and Technology Division of the Library of Congress and sponsored by the Office of Polar Programs, National Science Foundation. 359 p. \$4.75. This volume is a retrospective complement to the three volumes of the *Antarctic Bibliography* issued in 1965, 1966, and 1968 that document the literature on Antarctica published from 1962 through February 1968. The bibliography, worldwide in scope, is arranged according to 13 subject categories and is indexed according to author, subject, and geographic location. Detailed abstracts are given in approximately 15 percent of the citations. Brief annotations accompany another 25 percent, and the remainder are listed without amplification.

¹ For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, unless otherwise noted.



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